

Brazil's Role Conception in South America: A Regional Leadership Perspective

A thesis presented to
the faculty of
the Center for International Studies of Ohio University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts

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April 2017

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ABSTRACT

PEREIRA, BRUNA A., M.A., April 2017, Latin American Studies

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This thesis focuses on analyzing Brazil's role in South America, which encompasses the conception of the self (ego) - in this case Brazil - and the perception of the other (alter), represented by Argentina. As a case study, this thesis is based on Role Theory and its premises in order to understand international roles such as middle powers and regional leaders. The goal is to understand Brazil's role in South America according to its own perspective and Argentina's conception, and then analyze what are the implications for the former's attempts to become a regional leader.

Brazil perceives itself as a middle power in the world and claims a regional leadership position. On the other hand, Argentina recognizes Brazil as a middle power and a regional power in South America; however, the country does not support Brazil as a regional leader and, in consequence of that, Argentina gets engaged in counterbalancing its neighbor's rise and regional claims. Since a role is only formed by the ego and alter's perspectives, without the support of other South American countries, Brazil cannot achieve the leadership position.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Nukhet Sandal, for guiding me during the process of developing this thesis, for assisting me in all the steps, and for always being available to teach me and share her knowledge with me. I also want to thank the committee members, Dr. Brad Jokisch and Dr. Matthew Layton, for being part of this study, helping me throughout this process. Lastly, I thank my family and friends in Brazil for always supporting me and for being by my side making themselves present in my life every day, even with the distance. Thank you friends and colleagues in the U.S. and other Ohio University faculty members for all the support!

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CHAPTER 1: CONCEPTS AND THEORY

The international system has faced changes regarding distribution of power that was caused in the last two decades, especially with the rise of new leaders in the global level. This change calls our attention to regional dynamics where a country with resources and willingness might become a regional leader.

The context of this fact counts on globalization and the changes in the world division of power that lead to the debate about the rise of actors in the international system that have caused more impact in the world's politics. Political Science and International Relations (IR) scholars have discussed about the relevance of these states and the context and consequences of their rise. Within this discussion, regions in the world and their more prominent actors became a case study for the topic of unipolar versus multipolar international order.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the world's order changed from bipolar to unipolar. The new unipolar world witnessed as its protagonist the hegemony of the United States (Layne, 1993). However, in the 21st century we faced the decline of the US influence in the world, especially after 9/11 and the country's unilateral decisions in response to the attack. In sequence, other countries around the world started to position themselves against the hegemon and to follow their own paths to rise.

In this context, the importance of regions has grown, as well as their main actors. The focus turned to the rise middle powers that are situated between great and small powers considering their material and non-material capabilities. Much has been written

about the theoretical assumptions regarding such powers and case studies about distinct regions in the world. However, besides the current growing number of studies about Latin America, few works were carried out about this region within this topic. Therefore, this thesis is a contribution to the middle powers and regional leaders' literature as an application of this debate to a real case in a region that is not well covered in academia, which is South America. This study also contributes to the role conception discussion, since it covers how the roles of middle power and regional leader are perceived in South America, having as the center of the study, the Brazilian claim for regional leadership.

Middle powers and regional leaders are international roles that are not created from a simple process. Any international role played by the states¹ is conceived not only by what one country perceives of itself. International roles are created by the perception of the self and the others (Thies, 2009). Therefore, this thesis focuses on the existing role conceptions in South America regarding the regional dynamics of power and how it affects regional leadership aspirations in the subcontinent.

The main country to be studied in this thesis is Brazil, whose presence and influence in South America grew substantially in the past years. This thesis focuses on how Brazil has tried to project itself in South America and the conception it has of its own role in the region. In other words, I investigate how Brazil considers itself as an actor in South America. Brazil's opinion of itself does not necessarily reflect an objective reality. It is necessary to comprehend the opinion of other countries in South America about Brazil to understand the latter's role in the region, especially the main rivals and

¹ The term "state" in this thesis refers to Max Weber's definition of an entity holding legislative and political apparatus, holding the monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a specific territory (Weber, 1894 as cited in Grautoff and Miranda, 2009).

contenders (Thies, 2009). In order to do that, I will analyze Argentina's perceptions of Brazil. After understanding the Brazilian role in South America based on a study of these perceptions, I will analyze how these understandings reflect on the country's aspirations of regional leadership.

This research will be using Role Theory, which considers the creation of roles in the international system as based on the perspectives of the self and the others. Role theory has the premise of being descriptive, organizational, and explanatory when applied to the international level (Walter, 1987 cited in Thies, 2009). Analyzing the existing roles played by the South American countries, Role Theory provides us with a consistent theoretical basis.

Analyzing a country's international role requires the study of how it considers itself internationally, and also how other countries perceive it as an actor in the global and regional stages. Therefore, my research question for this thesis is: What are the conceptions that Brazil and Argentina hold of Brazil's role in South America and how do they constitute the latter's aspirations of becoming a regional leader?

The argument for this question addresses the fact that an international role is shaped by the perceptions of the self and the other. Therefore, the role of regional leader, and hence the attempts and performance of a state as one, are affected by the perception other countries in a region, particularly rivals, have of such role.

In order to analyze Brazil's role conception in South America it is necessary to first understand the concepts of middle powerhood and regional leadership. Both terms have more than one definition. Regional leadership, particularly, is a flexible term that

can gain different shapes depending on the author who addresses this concept. Therefore, I will provide a definition for “regional leadership” that encompasses the most cited explanations of the term in academia. However, it does not change the malleability of the concept, and considering the recent rise of middle powers in the world, we wonder if there is actually a regional leader in any part of the world.

This thesis will be divided in four chapters. The first one is a theoretical chapter in which I will explain Role Theory and the main concepts to be addressed in this study: middle powers and regional leadership. This chapter will serve as a background for the research, as well as an explanatory tool for my arguments.

In the second chapter I will write about Brazil’s presence in South America, addressing the country’s regional projection and how it builds its own perspective of its role in the subcontinent. In conjunction with this analysis I will also address Brazil’s aspirations of becoming a regional leader in South America. In the third chapter I will analyze how Argentina perceives Brazil in the region and its response to Brazil’s performance in the region.

In the fourth and last chapter, I will conclude what Brazil’s role is in South America according to its own perspective, as well as Argentina’s. From this understanding it will be possible to infer how the perspectives these two countries have of Brazil affect its aspirations of becoming a leader in the region.

This first chapter defines the main concepts to be used in this thesis, as well as the theory in which the analysis of Brazil’s role conception in South America will be based on. Considering the importance regions around the world have gained in the IR studies, it

is crucial to understand the dynamics of distribution of power within these regions that set the basis for the international hierarchy of power. In this case, the question is: what are these new actors or new powers? This requires the explanation of concepts such as middle powerhood and regional leadership. After, I will address the premises of Role Theory that explains the formation of international roles and how to identify them. Later in this chapter I will cover the meaning of “regions” in the field of International Relations and the relevance of studying South America and Brazil as a critical player in the subcontinent.

Middle Powers

The concepts of middle powerhood and regional leadership are commonly debated in IR and they are gaining more attention with the rise of new powers in the world that need to be fit into a category that differentiate than from great powers and the hegemon from small powers with still less international impact. There are multiple definitions of these terms in academia and I will address the most cited authors who write about middle powers and regional leaders. From their perspective, I will combine the definitions and provide one concept of both terms that will be the basis for the rest of the study.

Middle powers and regional leaders are key terms directly related to international role conception and the countries’ regional ambitions. The discussion about middle powers is relevant because they illustrate the world’s current political scene where new actors have emerged, gaining considerable international recognition. Differing from the bipolar Cold War era, when there was a gap between two superpowers and the rest of the

world, today's multipolar international system is formed by multiple states exerting significant influence in the world's politics. The distinction between super powers and other powers around the globe is less clear in today's scenario. However, it is not simple to classify all the states within an international hierarchy of power (Shin, 2015).

Within the IR field, power is a central term discussed by scholars and applied to theories. Realism focuses on defining "power" as control over material resources such as military resources (Baldwin, 2002; Mearsheimer, 2013). Other IR authors address power as the relationship between two states and the amount of influence one exerts over the other, or even the ideational component of authority (Nye, 2002). However, the international power hierarchy comprehends several definitions encompassing power such as great powers, middle powers, and regional powers.

Middle powers and regional leaders are widely used concepts in the International Relations' field. However, there is not a single definition of these terms, which means that there is no consensus amongst scholars of what these terms mean. However, the qualification they use for middle powers and regional leaders follows a single line of thought that combined, provide a reasonably coherent idea of what these terms imply.

There are two main components used to classify a state as a middle power, which are capabilities and behavior. A country's capabilities usually are defined according to the material resources a state has control over, such as military strength and economic power. However, according to Stephen (2013:37), "these capabilities need not be exclusively material or resource-based, but can include less tangible capabilities such as strong state structures, internal cohesion, diplomatic skills, and leadership." Therefore,

military and economic indicators are not enough to measure a country's power status of power in the international system. A set of other capabilities have to be considered, such as the internal structure of a state. The level of corruption, sociopolitical governance, and political stability are all elements that must be taken into consideration when analyzing a country's capabilities, because they are also responsible for shaping a state's international status (Cooper, 2013).

Middle powers are also considered intermediate states, considering their capabilities and level of influence over other international actors. This class of states is situated between great and small powers. Middle powers do not have the same capabilities as great powers to exercise influence over others due to the lower material resources under their control. Sandal (2014) defines middle powers as the states that have the most prominent economy in their own regions, being under a reasonable stable and democratic government, and presenting attempts to become the leader of a group of countries.

The geographic location of a country is not necessarily a strong indicator of power status. However, it can contribute to a state's rise as middle or great power in the world. First, the size of the country and its access to natural resources influences its capabilities, helping to shape the state's economy and military power (Stephen, 2013). Second, regional preponderance can also boost a country's international influence, contributing to an increase in its power status. Successful regional influencers have better chances of extending their power to a global level (Holbraad, 1984 cited in Wood, 1987).

The second most important indicator that assists in defining middle powers in the world is their behavior in the international system. Middle powers usually behave like mediators and coalition-builders, giving special attention to multilateralism (Nolte, 2010). Therefore, middle powers adopt tactics in the external arena that encompass a more intense participation in international institutions with a high level of influence over small groups such as countries of the same region. These actions are created to preserve the international order, focusing on consensus, and commitment with other actors in order to create coalitions (Keohane, 1969).

Even considering capabilities and behavior as the two main elements of measuring international power status, it is possible to notice that they are not easily analyzed because each one of them encompasses several categories of analysis. However, they form the basis of power position measurement which is commonly found in the scholars' definition of the term "middle power". Therefore, we can conclude that it is necessary to consider the material and non-material capabilities of a country to classify it in the world hierarchy of power as great, middle, or small power. Material power encompasses military force and the size of the national economy. Non-material capabilities are those related to diplomatic skills, leadership behavior, and level of the exercise of influence over other states.

Based on this criterion of measuring international power, there are some countries in the world that are widely accepted as middle powers. Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa are some of them (Hurrell, 2006). Together they form BRICS, which is an example of a coalition created by these middle powers. These countries have great

regional influence and now are taking this influence to a global level, starting to build development initiatives and other institutions for extended functional cooperation (Itamaraty, 2016a). BRICS is acquiring enough power that allows the participants to change the world's politics and economics.

Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa are examples of countries with a considerable level of influence in their own regions (Garten, 1997). However, some middle powers do not have the same status regionally as they have globally. Measuring regional leadership is not simple and there is more than one indicator for this task, since there is not a single definition of the term (Hurrell, 2006; Sandal, 2014). In the next section the concept of regional leadership will be discussed .

Regional Leadership

The term “regional leadership” is more flexible than “middle powerhood”, because the latter is analyzed considering global power hierarchy, while regional leadership is confined to the regional level and each region has different dynamics. It includes the possible presence of great powers, middle powers, and small states, which makes it difficult to identify the existence of a leader. The number of countries considered as potential regional leaders is arbitrary. This is due to the variety of definitions of this term (Flemes, 2010b).

A primary difference between middle powers and regional leaders is that the status of middle powers is given to a state according to its position in a global power hierarchy, not necessarily including the regional context this country is situated (Väyrynen, 1979). Middle power and regional leadership are intertwined concepts that

simultaneously have different criteria. However, even considering that categorizing regional leaders is more complex than identifying middle powers, it does not make the former less important than the latter (Cooper 2013).

There are not many persuasive indicators to analyze regional leadership. Two key distinctions between middle powers and regional leaders are leading role and self-conception (Wehner, 2011). Leadership is defined as political influence in diplomatic environment. The exercise of leadership by middle powers is implicit in the global level and by regional leaders at a regional level. Self-conception is also imperative in defining a regional leader, when the political elite of a country perceives it as a regional leader. Therefore, this status is not only related to power resources - hard or soft power, but also to the perceptions of configuration of regional and global power hierarchies (Nolte, 2010).

Material resources have the same level of importance as the countries' ideology and self-created identity. Therefore, scholars rely on both to analyze the states' foreign policy and their regional power status (Lemke, 2010). However, the country's own perception of its status is not enough to guarantee its regional leadership. Middle powers and regional leaders are socially constructed categories, which mean that they depend on the others' recognition to exist. In other words, other states of a certain region have to be willing to accept the authority and legitimacy of one of them; the one that is at the top of the regional hierarchy, in order for this state to be considered the regional leader (Thies, 2009; 2011).

Nolte (2010) combined several definitions from many scholars of regional leadership and created a single one that presents itself as a holistic definition of the term.

According to the author, a regional leader is a state:

- _ which has a self-conception of leader in an economically, geographically, and political-ideationally delimited region;
- _ which possesses material resources such as economic and military, organizational, and ideological influences to project itself regionally;
- _ which exerts considerable influence on regional affairs;
- _ which has political, economic, and cultural connections with the region;
- _ which has influence on the region's structures by means of regional governance;
- _ which shapes a common identity for the region;
- _ which provides, or participates in providing collective goods for the region;
- _ which has significant impact on the region's security agenda;
- _ which the regional leading status is respected and recognized by other states in and outside the region;
- _ which participates in interregional and global institutions, acting as a representative of its own region.

The definition of regional leadership changes from author to author, besides being wide by itself, which means that the term encompasses more variables and factors than "middle powerhood" for example. The main reason is that the classification of a country as a middle power takes into consideration the global hierarchy of power, which is more general, encompassing less elements. The regional level has different and more complex

dynamics than the global level, hence, to classify the powers within the regions also becomes a complex task. Besides the material and non-material capabilities necessary to be a middle power in the world, in a regional level those factors are maintained to classify a regional leader and others are added, which are the ones directly related to the complexity of the regions.

Therefore, I present a definition of regional leadership that encompasses the core elements discussed by authors in the field. I suggest that in order to a country to become a regional leader it has to present some requirements that are measured in a regional scale. The first ones are the same applied to identify middle powers in the world, which are material capabilities such as economic and military forces and non-material capabilities such as activism in international institutions and influence over other states - both applied to a regional context. On top of that a regional leader has to share the same symbolic apparatuses with the region, such as cultural bonds. It needs to be willing to shape the region's identity and organize its followers towards a common goal. More than that, as the label already suggests, a regional leader has to lead and represent the region in a global scale.

In this study, the analysis regional leadership in South America will be based on these constituent elements of the position. In order to understand Brazil's role conception in the subcontinent and the claims of regional leadership the country presents, I will analyze Brazil's material sources, such as its economy, military power, and geopolitical elements to assess their impact in the region. The non-material capabilities to be studied encompass the country's presence in South America, considering its presence in regional

institutions and its relationships with its neighbors, taking into the exercise of power through a soft and/or hard power strategy.

As it will be addressed in more details in the next sections, the enactment of any type of role, being a social or international role encompasses the self-conception of the ego. This point is explained by Role Theory that relies on the analysis of a country's foreign policy to identify its international role. Therefore, the study of the Brazilian foreign policy is the other key element necessary to understand the country's role in South America and the possibilities of occupying a leadership position.

It will not be possible to describe all the Brazilian movements in South America in order to have a full understanding of the country's role in the region. However, the main points will be covered in this thesis in a way that it will be possible to understand Brazil's self-conception and regional intentions, as well as Argentina's perspectives and responses to it. Both approaches will be analyzed according to Role Theory that will be addressed in the next section.

Role Theory

During the Cold War, particular behaviors and positioning of the states, such as allies and non-allies, caught scholars' attention that started to look for explanations for such positions. But even before that, Role Theory had been discussed as a foreign policy analysis tool in the 1970s. Holsti (1970) wrote one of the first works about the study of international roles, focusing on the idea of the role one state (the self) holds of itself based on the perception of its own identity. Once a national concept was created, it defines how a state would act in the international level. In recent years, IR scholars

turned their attention again to the importance of understanding international roles as a process, which transcends from the individual, to national, and then international level. That was when a variety of roles gained focus, such as mediator, follower, leader, aggressor, among others (Harnisch, 2011).

The term “role” in its origins was first borrowed from theater, meaning a conduct played by a person who read or recites in a play (Biddle, 1986). The concept Role Theory took from social sciences makes more sense to the theory’s explanations. According to Kirte and Maull (1996 cited in Thies 2009; cited in Wehner, 2011) “role” is considered as a social condition formed by the ego’s self-image and the alter’s expectations about the ego’s behaviors. Holsti defines “role conception” as the perception policy-makers have of the general decisions, commitments, rules, and actions that fit the idea they have of their countries and the activities they should perform in a national and international perspective (Holsti, 1983).

Considering these meanings, role conception encompasses the actor’s perception of its status toward the others, combined with the perception of the others about the actor. In summary, a role conception depends on the ego and alter’s perception about the former’s behavior and position. According to the Constructivist IR theory, role conception is simply the social identity of an actor and the way the others perceive it (Wendt, 1994).

The words ego/self and other/alter are metaphors representing the states in analysis. The units being studied with the name of ego or alter are the group of politicians in the highest positions in the national level, or, the ruling party. In the national context

there are different groups with distinct international goals and self-conception of their own countries. The attempt to address all of these voices would be extensive and risky to not capture the most accurate sense of national role conception. The decisions regarding the international level and the structure and results of the foreign policy are shaped by the ruling party of a country, reflecting this group's conception of the role of their state.

Therefore, the actors on focus in this study will mainly be the Presidents and former Presidents and Ministers and former Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the countries studied. Referring to these group of people is the closest we can get of being accurate in the analysis of a country's role conception. These leaders being elected through democratic means are the representation of the people's choice. Hence, they are in power to follow national and international goals that were approved by the majority of the population. When the terms "Brazil" and "Argentina" are used throughout this thesis, they will be in reference to these countries' administrations.

The table below represents how a role conception is formed, considering a state's perception of itself, which is formed by the individuals governing the country, and the expectation and responses of the other states toward the first one. The expectations of both sides are transmitted through language in the interactions between the involved (Harnisch, 2001).

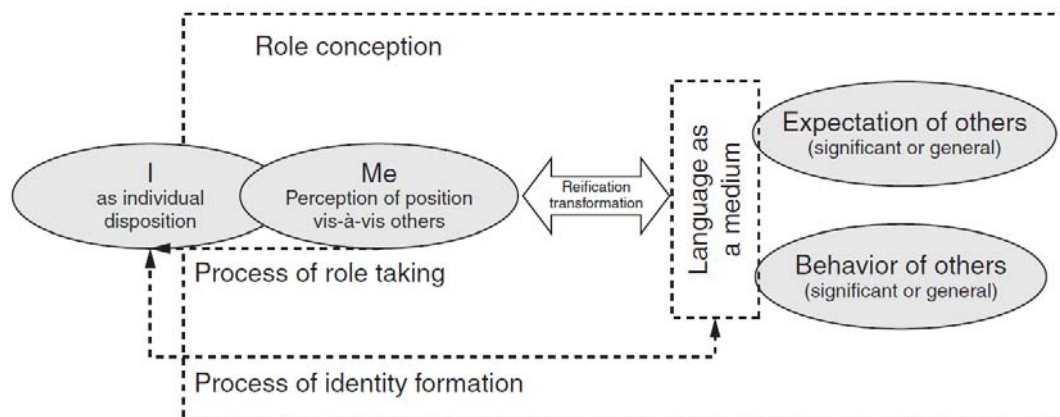


Figure 1: Role and identity in later role theory: Endogenization of corporate identity (I-part.) (Harnisch, 2001, p. 11)

As the figure above demonstrates, the process of formation of roles addresses the self's perception of itself as interaction between the self's perspectives formed by its own conception and also *vis-à-vis* the other's positioning. This sets the other side of this formation process, which is the other's expectations about the self and their responses to the self's role conception. This is a mutual constitutive dynamic where the existence of both players depend on the other to enact their roles. This process in an international scale is result of interactions mediated by language and other sign such as direct or indirect responses to one part's actions.

Role expectations address preferences, beliefs, and norms which shape the performance of an actor in a social position in relation to others in the same context (Biddle 1986; Stryker and Statham, 1985). This point demonstrates "roles" as an interbehavioral concept and the existing bridge between the actor and the social structure it is part of. Wendt's (1999) idea of agent and structure being mutual constituted can be linked to the process of formation of international roles. Wendt addresses the importance

of material conditions, ideas, and interests in the dynamics involving the social and structural parts. This interaction between these two parts and the elements that assist to shape beliefs and culture are the same involved in shaping roles. In Role Theory this dynamic is brought to the interaction between the self and the other, taking into consideration the individual conditions of each one that created the perceptions of each. Therefore, when considering these aspects we notice that role expectations can vary in degree, clarity, or consensus amongst the involved. A role may be unclear if there is any imbalance of role expectations of the ego and the alter, which can be a result of changes in the interactional process between both, or in variation in internal structures, such as changes in a country's foreign policy.

There are three elements to be considered when studying roles: (1) role expectations, (2) audience's response, and (3) location. Some scholars underemphasize the audience's part in shaping roles. It consists of observers of the interaction between the role performer, which is played by the main actor (ego) and the complementary actors (alter). This interaction is the basis for the formation of international roles (Sarbin and Allen, 1968). However, whether a role enactment is accepted or not by the audience or by the observers, is substantial in confirming if the role in fact exists. Through positive or negative responses, the audience reinforces or not the existence of a role and affects the duration of it over time (Walker, 1979).

The third defining element of roles is location. It refers to the position where the actor locates itself within an interactional process of a social structure. In order for the main actor to select an appropriate role according to place and situation, it has to

understand its location and the location of the others involved in the process (Sarbin and Allen, 1968; Walker, 1979). The environment is important not only to the actors involved to position themselves, but it is where the interaction between them happen. The location constrains and shapes the countries' behavior.

With a considerable range of explanatory tools, the potential to make room for levels of analysis and a set of rich descriptive concepts, Role Theory has proven to be useful for foreign policy analysis integrated with IR studies (Backman, 1970), but it has not been exploited much for the Latin American context.

Considering the existence of several distinct national roles that also intersect with international roles, it is necessary to pay attention to a country's foreign policy and the external dynamics the state is involved in order to define the role it plays in the international system. Other than that, role expectations, audience's response, and location cannot be divorced from the analysis. But when expanding these three elements by considering other details, it is necessary to pay attention to a country's geographical features, economic, technical and natural resources, capabilities, foreign policy, and ideologies (Thies, 2009; Holsti, 1970).

Therefore, considering the case-study addressed in this thesis, which is Brazil's role in South America, the path to be followed to identify this country's role in the region will require the analysis of factors that come together with the ones necessary to understand Brazil's attempts to become a regional leader in South America.

The next chapter addresses Brazil's perception of its role in South America, which is the analysis of the ego's image of itself. The categories cited in the last two sections of

this chapter will be applied to study how Brazil perceives itself in the subcontinent and how this image interacts with its attempt to become a regional leader. In order to obtain such information, I will make reference to documents. The primary sources will be governmental documents of Brazil, and later of Argentina, when studying its perception of Brazil in South America. The secondary documents will encompass academic articles, news, and other researches in the field.

Regions

In order to understand the rise of middle powers in the world and the role played by regional leaders in the international system, it is necessary to first know what “region” means and the interrelationship between the unit, the region, and the global level.

Buzan and Weaver (2003), in studying regional complex of security, state that the level of analysis of regions is situated between the global and local spheres. States, transnational actors, or international institutions are considered as “units” which have a high degree of independence in a global sphere. This logic is different from regions that are formed by geographically clustered sets of units embedded in a larger system with its own structure. In other words, regions are areas of the world with proximate states which are mutually interrelated units.

The global level, on the other hand, is an abstraction with no simple definition. It is presumed that regions are less than the whole. However, in IR literature, the global level is not only the entire system; it consists of macro systemic structures that constrain and shape the behavior of the actors – or the units (Acharya, 2014). The way such

structures are defined shapes the nature and of the regional level (Ranchod-Nilsson, 2000).

Just as regions are formed by units, the global level is formed by regions. However, some IR schools of thought, such as Neorealism and Neoliberalism emphasize the globalist approach, overstating the importance of the global level and underestimating the role of the constituent regions. In order to understand the whole it is necessary to understand the parts which compose the entirety of a system (Buzan and Weaver, 2003).

Cantori and Spiegel (1970) are among the main authors who discuss regions in IR, addressing relevant concepts and their dynamics. They move from a definition of regions based on the subordinate system, which brings an analysis of the units of a region, facilitating comparison and the understanding of a region's international politics. Subordinate systems are not simply regions defined geographically; they are also formed by political, organizational, and social economic factors. These factors account for the complex interactions existing within a subordinate system and such interactions are the key factors that define and limit the regions. Social and political boundaries, for example, are elements that divide Latin America from North America.

Subordinate systems are formed by core countries, peripheral countries, and so called "intrusive powers" (Cantori and Spiegel, 1970), which are states or institutions that exert or intend to exert influence over a certain system. Every state in the world is a member of a subordinate system, and the members of the same system are always proximate, but not necessarily contiguous (Brecher, 1963). A subordinate system is based on the existing proximity among the states of a certain region, and the social economic,

political, and organizational interactions they share. A single geographical region may be formed by several subregions or subordinate systems (Binder, 1958). The American continent, for instance, is formed by two main regions: North America and Latin America. Within Latin America, another division is established, creating Central America², and South America.

A subordinate system is formed by core, peripheral, and intrusive countries. The core sector of a region is formed by a single state or a group of states that constitute the focus of a subordinate system's international politics. Usually, the core sector is formed by more than one state that share social, political, and organizational background. The peripheral sector consists of states which occupy a more distanced position from the core sector. They are important actors for the region, but are usually less developed and less involved in the system's dynamics. The core sector is characterized by being more politically, socially, and culturally homogeneous. On the other hand, the peripheral sector tends to be heterogeneous, presenting less interaction among its constituent states. Intrusive countries are external powers which have a considerable political presence in a region. The core and peripheral sectors are the main states which constitute a subordinate system, being located within the same region. However, almost every region's dynamics demonstrate that these countries are not the only ones engaged in important activities in a certain system (Cantori and Spiegel, 1970; Shaw, 1980).

² Mexico is considered as a North American country for geographical reasons, considering this country's proximity with the U.S. and Canada, and also for being engaged in specific relationships with these countries, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). However, this country is also considered as a Latin American country, for having stronger bounds with this region than with the U.S. and Canada, and for sharing with its southern neighbors a similar language – when not the same-, culture, and a more intense relationship.

In South America, the core sector is formed by countries³ such as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, which represent cohesive states that play a crucial role in contribution for the region's development and political integration (Kacowicz, 1998). The Latin American peripheral states⁴, such as Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti, and Surinam, are less engaged in the region's dynamics, not presenting significant efforts in being part of the region's main political and organizational decisions (Schenoni and Escudé, 2016). Intrusive states have played an important role in shaping some elements in Latin America such as trade, economy, and even culture. United States and China are the main intrusive countries to Latin America (Argor and Suarez, 1972; Hsiang, 2009).

The U.S. had an intense presence in Latin America until the end of the Cold War, when the country's focus shifted from this subcontinent to the Middle East. Some of the same reasons address the unwillingness of the superpower to exert extreme influence in the region after the end of the "socialist threat" in the region, and also the terrorist attacks in the United States's territory in 2001, which reshaped the country's foreign policy and region of focus (Murphy and Mullis, 2011). However, the U.S. presence in Latin America still continues, albeit in multiple forms. The country is still present in important decision-making processes and it also exports a lot of its culture to the region, contributing to the transformation of the Latin American population's lifestyle, especially since the end of the World War II (Sampaio, 2011).

³ The countries that form the core sector of Latin America are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela (Cantori and Spiegel, 1970).

⁴ The list of Latin American peripheral countries is formed by: Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Guyana, Haiti, Surinam, Barbados, and associated states (Cantori and Spiegel, 1970).

The Washington Consensus⁵ was another point which contributed to distancing Latin American countries from the U.S. for generating disappointment in the subcontinent due to the frustrating results of the liberal thought. The Washington Consensus was famous in the U.S. by that time, but it was not equally successful in Latin America (Stiglitz, 2004). In the beginning of the 21st century China started to strengthen its economic and political relations with Latin America, balancing U.S. influence in the region. The trade exchange between Latin America and China has boosted the former's economy, creating opportunities for Chinese investments in the region, which considerably shapes the region's dynamics (Kotschwar, 2014).

Cantori and Spiegel by explaining the meaning and dynamics of subordinates systems, assist in the understanding of what regions are. Therefore, these concepts can be summarized as a geographical area presenting “[...] one state, or of two or more proximate and interacting states which have some common ethnic, linguistic, cultural, social, and historical bonds, and whose sense of identity is sometimes increased by the actions and attitudes of states external to the system.” (Cantori and Spiegel, 1970, p. 406).

In the next section I will address how this discussion about regions is important to delineate this thesis' main theme and justify the importance of studying regions in order to understand the world's dynamics.

⁵ The Washington Consensus is a set of economic and political prescriptions created in the 1990s to assist developing countries to solve internal crisis. Its policies focus mainly in creating hemispheric integration, open markets, sustainable development, and macroeconomic stabilization (Murphy and Mullis, 2011).

Why South America?

This thesis represents an effort to understand a specific region and the dynamics among the countries located in such region. Since studying the parts assists in the understanding of the whole, analyzing regions is relevant when studying the international system. In the thesis's context, the advent of globalization and its consequences help explain the importance of studying regions, or more specifically, South America.

Globalization has contributed to the integration of the world's regions improving means of communication, social relations, economic transactions, cultural exchange, and trade negotiations. Within this integration, each region has given its best contribution to the globalized world's relationships, improving their own conditions and assisting in the enrichment of the international system's social, political, and economic fields. Additionally, economic expansion requires science, production capacity, and flow of goods as key elements.

South America is formed by developing countries most of which have presented significant rates of progress and have also contributed to global trade by exporting mainly raw materials. Politically, South America is an example of a region that has been engaged in creating economic and organizational integration, targeting the subcontinent's development, eradication of poverty, and improvement of the local infrastructure (Azevedo, 2012).

Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world and the largest country in South America, occupying more than half of the entire subcontinent. Geographically, Brazil has an unavoidable presence in a strategic environment in South America. It shares its

borders with the great majority of the countries in South America (Ferreira 2014), creating cooperation and influential ties with them. A strong rising economy, a vast working population and the most powerful military force in the region have allowed Brazil to have a critical influence in South America (Fujita, 2013). These elements of geopolitics contribute to the Brazilian exercise of power in the subcontinent and bring scholars' attention to the growing importance Brazil has had regionally and globally.

Since the beginning of the century, Brazil has demonstrated considerable effort in becoming South America's leader. Therefore, considering the importance of studying regions and considering the general theme involving regional leadership, Brazil is an ideal case for investigation. Before going into the Brazilian pursuit of the regional leadership position in South America⁶, it is critical to understand what marks the beginning of this trajectory.

The 21st century brought significant changes for Latin America. The emergence and decline of the neoliberal paradigm in the region, followed by the Washington Consensus, the political landscape marked by social movements, and the democratic arrangements in the region gave rise to the "pink tide", which denoted the emergence of the leftist governments that have taken power in Latin America (Kirby, 2010).

Process of re-democratization started three decades ago in Latin America. By the beginning of the last decade, the neoliberal reform that was applied in the region failed to improve people's wellbeing and in maintaining the region's economic growth, which caused internal dissatisfaction in many countries (Kingstone, 2006). Therefore, democracy and its guarantees of contestation, elections, and free speech, combined with

⁶ See next chapter.

social, institutional, and economic problems during the 2000s, strengthened left and center –left political parties in Latin America (Tockman, 2009).

The forms through which each of these parties perceives development may differ; however, both left and left-centrist parties have similar demands. Leftist and left-centrist parties advocate for job opportunities, education, health, and people’s wellbeing (Castaneda, 2006). After their rise to power in Latin America, the leftist governments had differences regarding market goals and political alignments. These (leftist) governments shared two main goals: social programs focused on improving people’s quality of life and regional economic development (Panizza, 2006).

In Brazil the quintessential leftist party was Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT (Workers’ Party), which won the elections of 2003. Luís Inácio” Lula” da Silva, or simply Lula, was the president of the country representing the “pink tide” in Brazil (Pereira da Silva, 2015). This specific year marks the shift in Brazil’s internal dynamics and foreign policy. Lula’s rise to power in Brazil brought a rupture between two governments and two eras. The former government led by the former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who was in power from 1995-2002, represented a Brazilian centrist political party. On the other hand, there were new ideals established by Lula’s leftist party from 2003-2010, and continued by his successor, Dilma Rousseff, from the same political party from 2011-2015 (Teixeira and Pinto, 2012).

Cardoso’s government was characterized by a moderate multilateralism focused on creating stronger ties with great and middle powers around the world such as European countries and the United States (Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2007). Lula, on the

other hand, invested in an active political coordination and assertive diplomacy with relevant international actors, focusing on establishing partnerships with middle powers and emerging countries, such as India, South Africa, and China. Contrary to Cardoso, Lula shifted the country's attention from the northern to the southern hemisphere, reallocating the level of importance given to the U.S. to more concentrated efforts towards the South American countries (Ramanzini Júnior, 2010).

The rise of Brazil as a regional leader was seen by Cardoso as a result of the country's progressive economic development. Contrary to the former president, Lula perceived regional leadership as one of the priorities of the country's foreign policy. Internationally, Cardoso's government had clear economic priorities, while Lula focused on political goals (Fonseca, 2011). South America for Cardoso was defined as a region where Brazil could maintain strategic relations; however, few initiatives were taken toward the region during his administration. Lula, through diplomatic activism, promoted Brazil's rapprochement with South America engaging the country in several political initiatives and opening space for meetings and negotiations within institutions such as the Union of South American Nations (Unasul⁷) and the Common Market of the South (Mercosul⁸) (Almeida, 2004).

⁷ The Union of South America Nation (Unasul) was created in 2008 and counts on the presence of 12 countries in South America: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The main goal of the organization is to promote the regional integration in South America, to strengthen democracy in the region, and to deal with specific topics such as regional security, energy, social development, education, among others. The organization aims the region's pursuit of sustainable development, the local population's wellbeing, and the reduction poverty and social inequality (Itamaraty, 2016b).

⁸ The Common Market of the South (Mercosul) was created in 1991. The organization's full members are Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela (Venezuela was suspended from Mercosul in December 1st, 2016). The associate countries are: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Suriname. The bloc's goals are: the free flow of services, goods and factors of production, the implementation of a

This thesis contains an analysis of the period of time from 2003 to mid-2015, addressing Lula's and Rousseff's governments in Brazil and how these two leaders developed the country's regional leadership strategy and assisted the creation of Brazil's role conception by that time. The period of time from 2015 to the present will be briefly addressed due to the process of impeachment the former president Dilma Rousseff went through in 2015-2016. The consequences of this event are admittedly still in progress, and influences the current political dynamics in the region.

The "pink tide" brought leftist parties to power in Latin America, which focused on promoting social justice at a national level, and advocating for regional integration at the international level. This scenario applies to Brazil's case with the former president Lula, who was the first leftist president after the end of a dictatorship in the country. Internally, Lula changed Brazil's priorities from an economic growth target to social development goals. Internationally, Lula shifted the focus from the Northern Hemisphere to the Global South. Part of this strategy included strengthening the country's ties with South America, where Brazil has started to act more intensely in pursuit of the region's leadership position. However, Brazil was not the only country in South America presenting these same shifts and goals. Argentina and Venezuela share similar experiences regarding the "pink tide" political phenomenon and also similar goals.

Néstor Kirchner assumed the presidency of Argentina in 2003. Recovering from an economic and political crisis took place in 2001, the Argentinian economy had started to present signs of improvement. Kirchner was engaged in promoting national economic

common external tariff, and the coordination of macroeconomic policies between these countries (Itamaraty, 2016c).

development coupled with the country's regional projection of South America (Marques da Silva, 2009). The subcontinent became more important for Argentina's foreign policy, which prioritized regional politics as a strategy to increase the country's relevance in the region. Some of the main actions taken by Argentina were the promotion of closer relationships with Brazil, and a more consistent presence in regional institutions (Correa da Silva, 2012).

Strengthening relations with Brazil became a political priority for Argentina in the beginning of the century, which caused this strategy to be an important tool to maximize Argentina's political maneuver within the region. Besides this policy, the country started to advocate regional integration, taking active part in South America's institutions in order to gain regional recognition and prestige (Vadell, 2006). Along with Brazil, Argentina is an important player in Mercosul, promoting trade cooperation and development in South America. The Union of South American Nations (Unasul) and South American Nations Community (CSN) are also targeted by Argentina as a channel of action that contributes to promote the country's interests (Bernal-Meza, 2002).

These strategies represent Argentina's intentions of increasing the country's relevance in South America. Whether Argentina is interested in assuming full regional leadership in the region is a topic in debate amongst scholars in the field. However, it is clear that Argentina is promoting itself in the region, which can sometimes hamper Brazil's attempts to become a leader when these two countries disagree in any goal for the region.

A South American country that has presented clear intentions of becoming a regional leader is Venezuela. Since the advent of the “pink tide,” Venezuela has also presented clear efforts in becoming South America’s leader. Brazil and Venezuela do not directly compete for the position, but since they share similar goals, each one tries to opt for the best strategy that may guarantee the title of “leader”. Argentina is engaged in projecting itself more actively in the region, but there is no clear claim for leadership coming from this country. However, Argentina has interests in the region and expectations of expanding its influence. These factors lead the country to balance Brazil in South America (Walt, 1997; Waltz, 1979) in an attempt to control the former’s international political growth.

Argentina interacts directly with Brazil in South America, influencing the country’s goal of regional leadership. On the other hand, the country also has similar goals of international rise, as Brazil. Therefore, Argentina is a relevant country to be studied and to know its perspective about Brazil for the intense relationship both states have and the history of rivalry and cooperation, coupled with the regional ambitions. The third chapter of this thesis will address the Argentinian case in more detail.

Considering the focus on South America and also Brazil’s role in the region and its neighbor’s perspectives of it, this thesis will be based on the case studies method. A case is an instance of a given event and a case-study is a well-defined aspect of an episode selected by the researcher for investigation. In order to understand what Brazil’s perception and actual positions, I will apply the process-tracing method, which is an attempt to identify initial conditions that coupled with some principles that generate a

sequence of events. This method offers the necessary tools to create a line of historical and explanatory events that are crucial in understanding Brazil's role conception in South America (George and Bennett, 2005).

Finding out the country's and its neighbors' perspectives of Brazil's role in the subcontinent through an analysis of the background that sets the basis for the political scenario from 2003 to 2014 in Brazil and Argentina is a key process in the understanding of how this independent variable influences the Brazilian status in South America and its strategies to become a regional leader.

The existence of several and different regions in the world and the rise of states playing critical roles in the international system brings our attention to the emergence of middle powers and regional powers that have great influence in the world's dynamics at the political, economic, or institutional level. Therefore, by studying the case of Brazil in South America is not only an in-depth analysis of the region and the actors in there. This study also provides insights for other regions and overall mechanism of regional leadership. This thesis is useful in analyzing other cases, and the same theory, method, and concepts can be applied to other regions in order to understand other role conceptions of others middle powers, and regional leaders. Examples would be the rise of Turkey in the Middle East, Indonesia in Southeast Asia, and Nigeria's growing influence in West Africa.

CHAPTER 2: BRAZIL'S CONCEPTION OF ITS OWN ROLE IN SOUTH AMERICA

In this chapter I will analyze Brazil's own conception of its role in South America. Role is defined as patterns of behavior of an actor in a social interaction (Elgström and Smith, 2006). Such behaviors encompass the decisions, commitments, and actions chosen by governmental actors of a state (Holsti, 1983). However, in order to a role conception to exist, it is necessary to account such behavior and perceptions of the self (ego), coupled with the conception and expectations of the other (alter) towards the self.

In order to study Brazil's role conception in South America, it is necessary to understand the country's strategies and actions in the region. In other words, we need to comprehend the patterns of the Brazilian behavior in South America to identify the role conception according to the ego.

The last two shifts in Brazil's internal politics are of our main interest. The first one constitutes the period of time of late 1980s and 1990s when the country was aligned with great powers in the world such as the U.S. and the European Union. The second is a decade later when the focus turned to the south hemisphere and the emerging economies.

Global or regional changes are important to understand the internal configurations of a country, particularly regarding its international positioning. In Brazil, the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s and the advent of the "pink tide" in the early 2000s are critical junctures in history that defined the changes in the country's foreign policy in the last two decades. The shape of the Brazilian foreign policy during this time is significant to identify the country's conception of its role in South America.

After presenting a historical background and the main foreign policy goals of the presidents from early 1990s until 2015, it will be possible to understand the constituent factors of Brazil's perspectives of its role in the region.

Historical Background

The Brazilian foreign policy is marked by multilateralism (Santos, 2002). Thus multilateralism is what keeps the country maintaining cooperative relationships with around the world, creating resilient ties and keeping its reputation as a conciliatory power. The evolution of the Brazilian multilateralism is reflected by the degrees of proximity with the U.S. and other great powers followed by the gradual importance given to South America and the Global South.

Some of the elements considered by the states when choosing their strategies in the international arena are the balance of power expressed in the term of economic and political status. This includes the alliances created and the level of influence some countries exert over others (Wendt, 1999). Brazil had a closer alignment with the U.S. is perceived in the 1980s and 1990s. During and after the Cold War, Brazil strengthened its ties with the U.S., being subject to the American political decisions regarding the South American country (Souto Maior, 2001). During this period of time, the U.S. followed a cooperative agenda with its neighbors while controlling their growth and actions according to its own interests (Brewer, 2006).

In the 1980s, the Latin American countries went through a political-economic crisis, being dependent on international funds, carrying on the process of internal privatization, and having influence of foreign enterprises in their territories. Brazilian

scholars and economists refer to the 1980s as the “lost decade” (Kugelmas, 1991; Ometto, Furtuoso, and Silva, 1995; Pecequilo, 2008). During that time, Brazil could not grow economically, its international presence was not of great significance, and its dependency on the decisions made by the United States was high (Brito and Mendes, 2003).

During the 1990s Brazil was still dependent on the U.S., but this decade marked the beginning of projects of integration with other countries in South America (Vigevani et. al, 2009), enhancing the social and cultural relationships, and trade exchanges as a geopolitical strategy based on harmonious politics (Gallardo, González, and Aguirre, 2012). In 1991, involved by the plan of development and integration, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay were recognized as important players in South America, being part of the Latin American Integration Association⁹ (Laia/Aladi) (Bueno et al., 2014). From initiatives like this one, Mercosul was created and consolidated, representing one of the first concrete outlines of the Brazilian pursuit of regional leadership (Mendonça, 2008).

In the beginning of the same decade, Brazil reshaped its foreign policy due to the end of the Cold War and the subsequent change in the international system (Sato, 2000). The world was no more divided into east/west¹⁰ poles. New topics, such as human rights, environment, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, immigration, and economic

⁹ Created in 1980, the Latin American Integration Association (Aladi) aimed to socially and economically develop the South America, integrating the region and promoting a common market in Latin America. The current members of the association are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela (Itamaraty, 2016d).

¹⁰ The expression “East/West” in this sense refers to the Cold War, the historic dispute and indirect conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union which lasted from the end of the Second World War, in 1945, until 1991.

interdependency emerged at this time (Neves, 2012). These systemic changes impacted the Brazilian foreign policy. The country started to apply neoliberal economic policies, which in turn exerted influence over its foreign policy (Gennari, 2001). The rise of the United States as a hegemon provided new topics and values that were promoted to the international society after the end of the Cold War (Campos Mello, 2002). All these elements were crucial for the design of Brazil's foreign policy in the 1990s, when the country was politically and economically reorganizing itself and arguably creating stronger bases for its democracy (Bernal-Meza, 2002). Some events of this period of time, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, brought with them the emergence of subjects did not have great attention during the Cold World (Sato, 1998). Therefore, Brazil started to adopt a different posture toward its status in the international political field and its participation in international regimes and arrangements.

This reformulation is reflected in the discourse of former president Fernando Collor de Melo¹¹, who was in power from 1990 to 1992 (Estadão, 1992). Collor rearranged Brazil's international agenda and had the goal of changing the third world position of the country. His successor, Itamar Franco, who governed the country from 1992 to 1994 after the impeachment of Collor, followed his plans and initiated the discourse of Brazil as a global trader and a country of continental dimensions and importance (Pecequilo, 2008).

¹¹ During his administration, Fernando Collor was accused of corruption, fraud, and other denouncements. The Brazilian population protested at the country's street for the removal of the politician from the presidential position. Fernando Collor was impeached in 1992, leaving the position of president in May of the same year. His vice-president, Itamar Franco, assumed the office and governed the country until 1994, which would be the end of Collor's original mandate (Collection of the newspaper "Estadão", 1992).

This conception of Brazil as a giant country destined to achieve a more prominent international status in the future is long dated (Stolte, 2015). However, solid discourses and initiatives towards acquiring such status in South America and in the world are more recent, as highlighted in the paragraph above, with Collor and Franco's plans.

The global and regional roles desired by the Brazilian administration over the years, such as middle power and regional leader, are considered as "master roles." Status is the same as "master role" or, in other words, the most prominent position of an actor in a hierarchical system, encompassing material and social attributes (Walker, 2017). A master role is consolidated through the responsibility of assuming certain actions. These actions are defined as "auxiliary roles", that can be mediator, provider, or coordinator, for instance (Wehner, 2015).

The search of a more critical international master role was intensified, at least in discourse, by Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC), who assumed the presidency of Brazil after Itamar Franco and governed the country for two consecutive mandates, the first one from 1995-1998 and the second from 1999-2002 (Vigevani et al., 2003).

One of the main priorities of FHC's government was to strengthen values such as justice and democracy in the international system, so Brazil would be able to carry on its economic and political plans (Vigevani et al., 2003). Globalization opened space for a new community of interest in the American continent; therefore, international cooperation was important for the president, who engaged Brazil in advantageous partnerships (Pinheiro, 2000). The Brazilian involvement in Mercosul and ties with the

United States represented some of the FHC's strategies during his administration (Sales, 2007).

FHC conducted Brazilian foreign affairs through a strategy called "presidential diplomacy", when the president her/himself conducts the country's foreign policy in person (Barnabé, 2010). The adoption of this strategy characterized the promotion of the country's interests during Cardoso's presidency and it was specially allocated in bilateral relations with other countries and multilateral forums such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations (UN) (Lampreia, 1998).

The following quote of Cardoso's autobiography highlights the Brazilian foreign policy in the 1990s when the country started to build a closer relationship with South America, without losing the focus on great powers of the north hemisphere.

Throughout my administration, we have made an effort to extend integration to the entire South America. This was one of the pillars of my foreign policy: to consolidate our presence in South America, [...]. The more we strengthened our Latin American ties, the more we could bargain advantageously with the U.S. and Canada. (Translated by the author) (Cardoso, 2006).¹²

After the end of FHC's administration, Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva assumed the presidency of Brazil and, as the former president, ruled the country for two consecutive mandates, 2003- 2006 and 2007- 2010. Lula's arrival to power in Brazil is a constituent factor and also a result of the "pink tide" in Latin America (Panizza, 2006). This phenomenon characterizes the rise of the new left in the region when the neoliberal

¹² "Durante todo o meu governo, esforçamo-nos para estender a integração a toda a América do Sul. Este foi um dos pilares de minha política externa: consolidar nossa presença na América do Sul [...]. Quanto mais fortalecêssemos nossos vínculos latinoamericanos, mais poderíamos negociar vantajosamente com os EUA e o Canadá." (Cardoso, 2006).

paradigm and the post-Washington Consensus declined in the subcontinent (Kirby, 2010).

Celso Amorim headed Itamaraty, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from 1993-1994, in Itamar Franco's government, and from 2003-2011, in Lula's administration. During his eight years as minister of foreign affairs, Celso Amorim worked for a more autonomous posture of Brazil in the international system, particularly in multilateral forums (Eiras, 2011). In Amorim's own words:

[...] Brazil could not have a merely reactive stance in the world. We needed to work to assist in transforming the international reality. We have chosen to set in motion a foreign policy that is not only "active and haughty" but also "creative". This is what we have done by capturing or supporting a set of transformative initiatives such as the G20 in the WTO, the India-Brazil-South Africa Forum (IBSA), BRIC or UNASUL. (Translated by the author) (Amorim, 2010).¹³

The search for autonomy cannot be translated into a Brazilian isolationism. Rather, this strategy was in fact a means to change the close alignment to the U.S. that was started by FHC and an attempt to introduce stronger ties with the global south, Latin America, and other emerging powers (Ricupero, 2010).

One of the main characteristics of Lula's government was the wish to strengthen Brazil's international presence, responding to the expectations created around a country with continental dimensions and natural destiny of leadership (Saraiva, 2005). Such expectations are related to the hopes Brazil's governmental actors have about their own country, and also the expectations of other states in South America towards the one that

¹³ "[...] o Brasil não poderia ter uma postura meramente reativa no mundo. Precisávamos trabalhar para ajudar a transformar a realidade internacional. Escolhemos colocar em marcha uma política externa não somente "ativa e altiva", mas também "criativa". Foi o que fizemos capitaneando ou apoiando uma série de iniciativas transformadoras, como o G20 da OMC, o Fórum Índia-Brasil-África do Sul (IBAS), o BRIC ou a Unasul." (Amorim, 2010).

claims a prominent position in the region. According to Role Theory (Holsti, 1970; Thies, 2009; Wehner, 2015), these expectations are a critical point in the interaction between the self and the other, which creates the conception of an international role of a specific state. The alter's expectations will be analyzed in the next chapter with the study of Argentina's perception of Brazil's role in South America.

Lula continued most of the foreign policies implemented by FHC, with the exception of the former president's focus on relationships with great powers and perception of regional leadership (Vizentini, 2005). FHC's government can be considered as focused on a moderate multilateralism, when the president was engaged in promoting ties with great international powers such as the United States. His successor adopted a strong multilateral strategy, seeking for other opportunities and alliances with other countries (Fonseca-Silva et al., 2011).

The path towards the goal changed from one president to another; however, the goal remained the same. As goal, we refer to the master role the former Brazilian presidents were trying to achieve, that is a more prominent status in the world. The discourse of attaining the master roles of middle power and regional leader were totally reshape in Lula's presidency, when they became the focus of the foreign policy of the Brazilian administration.

The achievement of a leadership position by Brazil was seen by Cardoso as a gradual result of the country's economic predominance in South America, but it was not a main concern of his government (Almeida, 2004). On the other hand, since his first administration, Lula affirmed his goal of boosting Brazil's international influence, going

beyond the South American boundaries. The plans to achieve this condition addressed the creation of strategic alliances and diplomatic activism (Albuquerque, 2006).

The promotion of a closer relationship with the countries in Latin America was a priority to promote regional integration, exercise influence, and pursue a regional leadership position (Costa, 2011). However, during Lula's administration, Itamaraty also created ties with other emerging countries around the world. This strategy is known as "consensual hegemony", which addresses the articulation, dissemination, and maintenance of a position without relying on force to recruit followers in the process of achieving such status (Burgess, 2008). Brazil does not impose its preferences on others; rather, it attempts to attract supporters (Wehner, 2015). This dynamic highlights the importance of studying the alter's perception of the ego when analyzing a role conception, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

As addressed in the last chapter, the 21st century witnessed the rise of middle powers in the international system. Along with Brazil, other countries such as China, India, Russia, and South Africa emerged as important players in the world's economic and political dynamics. They are examples of middle powers that rose in the international system (Hurrell, 2006). Creating ties with them was seen by Itamaraty as an opportunity to guarantee partners and a stronger presence in international organizations.

The interests and priorities of the new middle powers change and impact their own region, creating consequences for the entire world (Stephen, 2013; Cooper, 2013). In the case of Brazil, during Lula's administration the plan for the country's rise in the international system was an imperative. Gaining more regional importance was a central

point of Lula's government (Lessa et al., 2009). The former president's ideal was to develop a foreign policy that was common for all the South American countries, working for integrating the subcontinent, creating the South American Community of Nations (Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2007). Nonetheless, South America was one of the priorities of the Brazilian foreign policy. Regional blocs of integration gained even more importance as a strategic tool to promote the country's interests and leadership plans (Sales, 2007).

Started in FHC's era and strengthened with Lula's administration, Brazil became one of the main actors of Mercosul and Unasul. Both blocs articulate actions to create economic development, cultural and political integration, and the promotion of security and defense plans for the region (Almeida, 2004). Until the present day, Mercosul and Unasul still have the special attention of the Brazilian administration for being two of the main South American institutions. To have a prominent role within these blocs is a step toward leading the region (Oliveira and Salgado, 2011).

Brazil and Argentina are the main players of Mercosul. However, Brazil has a greater influence within the organization and it is the biggest economy in the bloc (Lampert, 1998). The Fund for Structural Convergence of Mercosul (FOCEM) was created to financially support programs that promote structural convergence and social cohesion amongst the members of Mercosul, at the same time strengthening the integration process in the region. Brazil has 70% of participation in FOCEM, while Argentina has 27%, Paraguay 2%, and Uruguay 1% (Brazilian Government, 2016).

Besides being the main economic actor in Mercosul, Brazil also plays the main role of negotiator within the organization. Acting as mediator in conflicts involving the

members of the bloc guarantees not only political prominence for the country, but also the extension of the country's power to bargain in the region (Mendes and Osorio, 2014).

Brazil also assumed a critical role in shaping Unasul's security affairs. In the same year the organization was created, 2008, Brazil had the initiative to create the Security and Defense Council (CDS) of Unasul to promote and guarantee the safety of the countries in the region regarding external threats. The country is also one of the main actors in the bloc working for the region's integration and development (Itamaraty, 2016b).

The Brazilian positioning within regional institutions are examples of "auxiliary roles." The country has been performing the roles of articulator, provider, and negotiator, besides being involved in promoting regional security and defense issues. The prominent position occupied by Brazil in Mercosul and Unasul have consolidated an alliance between Brazil and other countries in South America. This enables the country to exert more influence in the region (Duarte, 2014). Therefore, Brazil takes advantage of the regional processes of integration in South America to create a cooperative relationship between itself and other states in the subcontinent, thus expanding these ties to other regions in the world (Seitenfus, 2008).

The following quote is a piece of Lula's speech during a meeting of Mercosul in 2003. His speech demonstrates the president's plan to fully engage the country in the South American organization, promoting integration and, at the same time, guaranteeing the Brazilian rise in the world.

Mercosul is at the center of Brazil's own strategy of allocation in the world. [...] The internal strengthening of Mercosul is essential to carry out negotiations with

other countries and blocs. Therefore, it will guarantee an influential presence of South America in the world. [...] Mercosul unit is also fundamental to allow the consistency of common positions, which is necessary to strengthen the negotiating capacity of the bloc with other partners such as the European Union and the United States. (Translated by the author) (Silva, 2003a).¹⁴

Besides these shifts in the Brazilian foreign policy, when the country puts in practice its international goals, having as its first target the South American region, the change in Brazil's relations with the U.S. is also part of the strategy. Different from the past decades, the Brazilian government assumed a more independent posture toward the U.S. when Lula became the president of the country (Valente Monteiro, 2014).

The partnership between the two countries still exists and it brings strategic results for them such as cooperation and stability. However, as cited in the last chapter, the Washington Consensus and other neoliberal ideas had already failed in Latin America (Portella Filho, 1994). Coupled with that, it is possible to cite other U.S. actions that were not welcome in the international arena. Some examples are the American foreign policy decisions that include: the country's unilateralism in early 2000s, the war against Iraq, and the invasion of Afghanistan (Murphy and Mullis, 2011). All these factors, including the new U.S. focus on the Middle East after 9/11, have contributed to the disapproval from other countries in the world, which challenges the American hegemony and at the same time opens space for other states to position themselves more firmly in the international system, pursuing a more independent posture toward the U.S. (Lopes,

¹⁴ "O Mercosul está no centro da estratégia brasileira de inserção no mundo. [...] O fortalecimento interno do Mercosul é imprescindível para levar adiante as negociações com outros países e blocos. Será assim garantida uma presença influente da América do Sul no mundo. [...] A unidade Mercosul é também fundamental para permitir a consistência de posições comuns, condição necessária para fortalecer a capacidade negociadora do Bloco junto a outros parceiros comerciais, como a União Europeia e os Estados Unidos." (Former president Lula's speech at the XXIV Mercosul Meeting in July 18th, 2003. In "Discursos Seleccionados do Presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva." Brasília: Fundação Alexandre Gusmão, 2008).

2009). The shift in the Brazil-U.S. relationship allowed Brazil to assume a stronger position in its region. With a diminished presence of the U.S. in the subcontinent, Brazil was able to exert more influence in the region, which contributed to the country's leadership plans.

The goal of the Brazilian international ascension includes a multipolar strategy. Since the beginning of the century, Brazil has turned its focus to South America and it has built ties with other regions and countries as well.

We [Brazil] have carried out intense diplomatic work to deepen traditional ties in our continent and to bring us closer to regions of the developing world such as Africa and the Middle East. Brazil wants its voice to be increasingly heard in the international arena. But we also want to hear the voice of other countries to identify common interests and to intensify dialogue and cooperation. [...] Regarding the economic and trade spheres, we work to deepen the integration and unity of our region, South America, as well as to help to build an international economy that provides better opportunities of growth for all. (Translated by the author) (Silva, 2005).¹⁵

The Brazilian government from Lula's first administration started to create plans to guarantee closer ties with other regions in the world, promising political and economic bounds and the creation of new alliances. The members of BRICS, for example, have had an assertive relationship with Brazil, in which the members of the bloc have an economic, cultural, and technical exchange amongst themselves, contributing to their own development and to ensure these countries' ongoing emergence in the world.

¹⁵ "Temos realizado intenso trabalho diplomático de aprofundamento de vínculos tradicionais em nosso Continente e de maior aproximação com regiões do mundo em desenvolvimento, como a África e o Oriente Médio. O Brasil quer que sua voz seja cada vez mais ouvida no plano internacional. Mas queremos também ouvir a voz de outros países, para identificar interesses comuns e intensificar o diálogo e a cooperação. [...] Nos planos econômico e comercial, trabalhamos para aprofundar a integração e a unidade de nossa região, a América do Sul, assim como para ajudar a construir uma economia internacional que proporcione melhores oportunidades de crescimento para todos." (Former president Lula's speech at the opening of the colloquium "Brazil: Global Actor." July 13th, 2005. In "Discursos Seleccionados do Presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva." Brasília: Fundação Alexandre Gusmão, 2008.)

In the South-South cooperation, started by Lula, Brazil has also created projects to promote new relationships with the Global South. Brazil created programs to promote exchange of techniques and knowledge and fight hunger and poverty in Africa, for example (Brazilian Government, 2014a). The Cotton-4 Program is an initiative in which the Brazilian government supports the African countries of Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, and Mali in developing agricultural practices for cotton. The states involved share technologies and experiences about the product and work to promote cooperation, development, and economic growth amongst them (ABC, 2016). These new strategies and alliances in other parts of the world have brought benefits such as more political and economic prestige to Brazil.

As part of the Brazilian global ambition and the desire to craft new global role there are the country's attempts to get a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and to have a Brazilian representative in the World Trade Organization (WTO). Brazil's global aspirations represent the intention of playing a different role in the international system than the one it expects to enact in South America (Thies, 2001). This is related to the master role of a prominent world power and the master role of regional leader

During the first year of Lula's presidency, the Brazilian government started a discourse of promoting the country's candidacy to a permanent seat in the UNSC. In Lula's discourse, the former president affirmed his belief in Brazil's ability to contribute to the council's mandate to face crisis, promoting peace. In the former president's speech

at the LVII Ordinary Session of the UN General Assembly in 2003, Lula stated that the world

[...] cannot ignore the changes that have taken place in the world, especially the emergence of developing countries as important actors, often playing a crucial role in the international arena for peaceful and balanced solutions to conflicts. Brazil is ready to make its contribution. Not to defend an exclusivist conception of international security. But to reflect the perceptions and wishes of a continent that today is known by harmonious coexistence and as part of the world stability. (Translated by the author) (Silva, 2003b).¹⁶

The request for a permanent seat in UNSC was also defended by Dilma Rousseff, who in her opening speech to the United Nations General Assembly in 2011 stated that:

Brazil is ready to assume its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Council. We have lived in peace with our neighbors for more than 140 years. We have successfully promoted integration and cooperation processes with them. We abdicated, by constitutional commitment, the use of nuclear energy for purposes that are not peaceful. I am proud to say that Brazil is a vector of peace, stability, and prosperity inside and outside our region. (Translated by the author) (Rousseff, 2011).¹⁷

In search of regional support in Latin America to achieve a permanent position in the UNSC, the Brazilian administration focused even more on strengthening bilateral relationships with Latin American countries. The country's target was more specifically the developing countries to which Brazil could offer assistance for local development programs in exchange for support for the Brazilian candidacy on the council (Andrade,

¹⁶ “Não podemos ignorar as mudanças que se processaram no mundo, sobretudo a emergência de países em desenvolvimento como atores importantes muitas vezes exercendo papel crucial na busca no cenário internacional de soluções pacíficas e equilibradas para os conflitos. O Brasil está pronto a dar a sua contribuição. Não para defender uma concepção exclusivista da segurança internacional. Mas para refletir as percepções e os anseios de um continente que hoje se distingue pela convivência harmoniosa e constitui um fator de estabilidade mundial.” (Part of the former president Lula's speech at the LVII Ordinary Session of the UN General Assembly in Andrade, 2012).

¹⁷ “O Brasil está pronto a assumir suas responsabilidades como membro permanente do Conselho. Vivemos em paz com nossos vizinhos há mais de 140 anos. Temos promovido com eles bem-sucedidos processos de integração e de cooperação. Abdicamos, por compromisso constitucional, do uso da energia nuclear para fins que não sejam pacíficos. Tenho orgulho de dizer que o Brasil é um vetor de paz, estabilidade e prosperidade em sua região, e até mesmo fora dela.” (Part of the former president Dilma Rousseff's speech at the 66^o United Nations General Assembly, 2011).

2012). This strategy reveals Brazil as a “consensual hegemon” that seeks to expand its influence over other countries not through coercion or the imposition of its interest, but by means of attracting the others to follow Brazil in a common goal (Borges, 2008; Wehner, 2015). This is also an example of the country’s effort to be more prominent in South America in order to assume the position of regional leader that implies the existence of cooperation between the countries in the subcontinent, a context that facilitates Brazil’s performance as a leader.

With this historical review of Brazilian politics, focusing on the country’s foreign policy in the past decades, it is possible to understand the configurations of the latest government of the country under the government of Dilma Rousseff from 2011 to 2016. Coupled with other elements required to analyze middle powerhood and regional leadership, it will be possible to have clear image of how Brazil considers itself in South America.

Analysis of the Brazilian Role Conception

The following sections of this chapter focus on the analysis of the perception Brazil has of its role in South America according to three main indicators. The first one is the foreign policy of the last government of the country, headed by Dilma Rousseff. The second indicator addresses the Brazilian capabilities reflecting the country’s material conditions and how they contribute to shape its role. The third indicator is Brazil’s non-material capabilities perceived in the way the country exercises power in the international system and at a regional level, particularly in Latin America.

Foreign Policy

In this section I will address elements of the Brazilian foreign policy in the government of Dilma Rousseff, the last president of the country. One of the advantages of applying Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) role theory to the study of role conceptions is the possibility of identifying a national role conception (NRC) through the analysis of a country's foreign policy (Thies, 2014). This strategy is essential when studying the ego's perception of its international role. Holsti (1970) introduced the use of Foreign Policy Analysis as a tool for discovering a national role conception through the study of governmental actors' discourses.

Wehner and Thies (2014) considered Holsti's (1970) approach to FCA and role conception as limited, particularly due to the latter's focus on material resources as determinant for a country's choices regarding its foreign policy. Therefore, Wehner and Thies (2014) rely on Bevir et al.'s¹⁸ studies of FCA role theory, addressing the importance of other elements that shape a country's foreign policy, such as beliefs, traditions, and dilemmas.

The analysis of Brazil's foreign policy as a tool to understand its role conception was conducted in the last section when studying the country's foreign policy in the past, including the analysis of the former presidents' speeches. In this section the focus is on the Brazilian foreign policy during Dilma Rousseff's administration addressing patterns, changes, and continuities from Lula's previous government. This study will not include

¹⁸ Wehner and Thies (2014) based their arguments in several works of Bevir and other authors, such as Rod Rhodes, Oliver Daddow, and Ian Hall. To see more about these authors' approach of foreign policy role theory, see: Bevir, Mark and Rod Rhodes. *The State as Cultural Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. And Bevir, Mark, Oliver Daddow, and Ian Hall. "Introduction: Interpreting British Foreign Policy." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* (2013), 15 (2): 163–174.

the current government of Michel Temer, because he is in power since August of 2016; therefore, his administration is still new to be analyzed in the scope of this thesis.

The “pink tide” phenomenon initiated in the early 2000s brought a change to the model of international expansion carried out by the Latin American countries. In Brazil, Lula’s election in 2003 marked presence of the “pink tide” in the country, representing the leftist party called “Workers Party” (Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT) (Menezes and Vieira, 2012). His two mandates (2003-2010) represent the period of time in the country’s history when a Brazilian government had great popular support and international prestige. As discussed in the last section, internationally Lula’s administration was recognized for strengthening the South-South cooperation, having an active participation in multilateral regimes, defending values such as democracy and international order, and for the special treatment given to social issues such as starvation and unemployment rates.

After eight years as president, Lula supported Dilma Rousseff in the 2010 elections, who was his ally and member of the same political party. After assuming the presidency of Brazil in 2011, Rousseff faced a different national and international scenario than the one Lula had seen in 2003. The latter witnessed a considerable economic growth of Brazil, which enabled the country to pursue a dynamic and competitive status in the international system, while Rousseff came to power during an international crisis when the Brazilian trade balance had dropped (Teixeira and Pinto, 2012).

Nonetheless, Rousseff maintained the same goals carried out by the previous president regarding the country's foreign policy. Some of these objectives comprehend the pursuit of the country's development having as one of the strategies the ties with several trade partners, and the promotion of economic and political relationships with different regions around the world (Saraiva, 2014). In addition to that, Rousseff kept the principles of multilateralism, South-South relations, and coalition with other emerging countries, maintaining the focus on South America where the goal of consolidating a regional leadership position was still alive (Mariano et al., 2015). Therefore, the master roles being pursued by Lula and the consensual hegemony exercised by the Brazilian administration continued the same during Rousseff's government. However, having the same established goals does not mean that nor the same tactics will be applied, neither that the same results will be achieved.

In fact, the intention of preserving the same foreign policy started by Lula was not enough to guarantee that the Brazilian foreign affairs would be conducted the same way having similar outcomes (Cornetet, 2014). An international crisis in process coupled with a slower national economy resulted in different actions chosen by Rousseff. She gave more emphasis to domestic politics and their results, rather than paying too much attention to foreign policy as in Lula's administration. The Brazilian foreign policy during her government compared to the previous two mandates of Lula is considered as "change within the continuity" (Ziebell de Oliveira and Silveira, 2015).

During Rousseff's administration, the focus on the South-South relations has not had the same importance as they had during the previous eight years. It resulted in a

change in Brazil's international prominence, leading to doubts regarding the country's foreign policy. In South America, few actions were taken in Mercosul. One of the main changes within the bloc was the inclusion on Venezuela in 2012 (Fontanelli et al., 2015).

The Brazilian performance in BRICS was more active than in the ones in the South American institutions. In the bloc's meeting with the members of Unasul in 2014, the representatives of BRICS announced the creation of a new Development Bank of BRICS, which is in action since 2015, being an alternative for International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Pereira et al., 2015).

At the same meeting, Rousseff highlighted in her speech that Brazil's focus was still on South America. The country's goal remained the same regarding the region's integration and pursuit of partnership with Brazil's neighbors. According to the former president:

I reiterate the absolute priority Brazil has towards the South American integration. Regional integration, for us, is a state policy, a permanent policy of Brazil, inscribed in our Constitution. The process of re-democratization in our region coincides, to a large extent, to our efforts to approximate and integrate with our neighboring countries. The artificial misgivings generated in undemocratic environments were thus overcome. (Translated by the author) (Rousseff, 2014).¹⁹

The discourse defending a reform in the United Nations Security Council started with Lula was kept by Rousseff. Meetings with the G-4²⁰ and India-Brazil-South Africa

¹⁹ "Reitero absoluta prioridade que o Brasil atribui à integração da América do Sul. A integração regional, para nós, é uma política de Estado, uma política permanente do Brasil, inscrita na nossa Constituição. O processo de redemocratização em nossa região coincide, em grande medida, com nosso esforço de aproximação e integração com os países vizinhos. Superaram-se, assim, as desconfianças artificiais gestadas em ambientes não democráticos; ditatoriais." (Former president Dilma Rousseff's speech at the Second Work Session of BRICS and South American countries in July 16th, 2014).

²⁰ The G-4 is an alliance between Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan and the main goal of the group is the mutual support of each other's candidacy to a permanent seat in the UNSC.

Dialogue Forum (IBSA)²¹ were conducted as well, to discuss whether the thematic about the UNSC was central (Itamaraty, 2017).

Since they were members of the same party, sharing similar political paths and partnership, Lula oftentimes made comments about Rousseff's government. He supported most of Rousseff's decisions, but he considered the latter's actions to strengthen the relationship with other emerging countries as insufficient (Mariano et al., 2015).

The Brazilian cooperation with the African continent was supposed to remain one of the priorities in the country's foreign policy. However, the policies towards the continent lost its importance in Rousseff's administration (Saraiva, 2014). The same happened with the relationships with the Middle East. It became even more difficult for Brazil to deepen the ties with this region and act as a mediator because of the Arab insurgencies started in Tunisia and Egypt, the civil wars in Syria and Libya, and other protest in the region that started after Rousseff come to power in Brazil (Gonçalves and Dias, 2016; Cornetet, 2014).

Dilma's focus on domestic politics, rather than foreign affairs contributed to classify the Brazilian foreign policy during her years as president as less active and effective (Saraiva and Bom Gomes, 2016). Rousseff travelled less than Lula to further the country's relations around the world and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during her administration had a lower budget compared to previous years (Schreiber, 2015). The institutional strengthen gained by Itamaraty during Lula's administration could not be maintained in Rousseff's government, particularly after changing the minister of foreign

²¹ IBSA Dialogue Forum reunites three emerging nations to discuss sectorial cooperation and political coordination.

affairs three times in a period of time of five years (Fellet, 2013). The number of Brazilian embassies and consulates in other countries did not increase and the available new diplomat positions in Itamaraty decreased in Rousseff's administration (Ziebell de Oliveira, 2014).

It is possible to conclude that Dilma Rousseff maintained the Brazilian foreign policy started with Lula. However, the international goals were not carried out the same way they were in the previous government. Rousseff faced more challenges than Lula when she came to power. First of all, the economic international crisis started in the U.S. in 2007 which resulted in recession around the world. Rousseff also had a different personal way of leading the country. Being less charismatic than Lula contributed to the Brazilian international affairs to lose the rhythm they had in the past. The focus Rousseff gave to the domestic politics and the decrease of the investments directed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have also resulted in a less dynamic international presence for Brazil in the world.

Despite the fact that the Brazilian foreign policy during Rousseff's administration was less effective than the previous government, the conception the president and Itamaraty held of Brazil during the administration of Lula and Rousseff was the same. In other words, Brazil's master roles of middle power and regional leader pursued and emphasized by Lula remained in Rousseff's government.

All the foreign policy's actions taken during Rousseff's administration are an example that they are shaped by more than just considerations derived from the country's material capabilities. As the study of a national role conception through Foreign Policy

Analysis by Bevir et al. (2010; 2013) suggests, traditions, culture, beliefs, and dilemmas are key elements that shape a country's foreign policy. Some of the main focus of Brazil's foreign policy during Rousseff's administration was the engagement in the South American institutions such as Mercosul and Unasul, the activism in BRICS, the request of a permanent seat in the UNSC, including the relationship with the G-4 and the countries of IBSA to discuss about the council. For each one of these aspects Brazil has to adapt its narrative and discourse approach to fit the organizations' platform and/or the targeted countries' preferences. Through such behavior Brazil increases its chances of attracting supporters and achieving its goals. Therefore, material conditions are as important as beliefs, culture, and traditions to shape a country's foreign policy.

Before analyzing Brazil's material capabilities, it was clear in this section the country's willingness to assume the post of regional leader in South America. According to the definition of regional leadership given in the first chapter, we notice that Brazil presented the efforts to project itself internationally, being engaged in the region's institutions, trying to bring together the countries of the subcontinent and be their representative in a common goal. These are important steps towards becoming a regional leader, but not the only ones. In the remaining sections of this chapter I will discuss the material capabilities and ability to exert influence over others, which are also relevant to take into consideration when measuring a country's capacity of being a regional leader. The response and possible acceptance of the others in South America will be addressed in the next chapter with Argentina's perception of its neighbor.

Capabilities

A state's capabilities are relevant to most theories and conceptual definitions in the IR literature. They are considered essential in defining a country's position in the international system and its behavior. Physical features and material resources are usually considered in conjunction with other elements in the analysis of a country's capabilities, foreign policy, and general international behavior (Bevir et al., 2010; 2013; Wehner and Thies, 2014). In order to analyze the ego's conception of its own international role, understanding its material capabilities is a key point (Holsti, 1970). As discussed in the previous section, in FCA of role theory, material capabilities are not the only important element in studying foreign policy and international roles, but the dimension of this type of power has to be considered. The master roles of middle power and regional leader, for example, have as a critical constituent aspect the measurement of a country's material power.

As reviewed in the first chapter, the IR literature suggests that Brazil is a middle power in the international system, while its regional leadership position is still discussed amongst the scholars of the field. Therefore, to evaluate both of these positions and at the same time to analyze Brazil's role conception in South America, it is necessary to consider the country's capabilities and how they contribute to create the Brazilian international status and the country's own perception of itself. In this section I will address Brazil's geopolitics, national economy, and military power.

Brazil has a geographic territory of 8,515,767,049 km² (IBGE, 2017a), being the fifth largest country in the world and biggest one in Latin America. Brazil occupies

almost half of the South American territory with 47.3% of the subcontinent (Brazilian Ministry of Environment, 2017). The country is considered a continental-maritime state for having an extensive border in the South American subcontinent in the west. In the east, the Brazilian coast has an extension of 12 nautical miles, running along the margins of the Atlantic Ocean (IBGE, 2017c). Among the twelve countries in the area, Brazil shares its borders with ten of them, and there is no record of current dispute with any of its neighbors (Ferreira, 2014).

Being a predominantly tropical country situated in the middle of the Nazca tectonic plate, the Brazilian territory is not located in an area free of natural disasters, such as earthquakes, tsunamis, tornados, volcanic activity, and hurricanes. The country's vast territory with distinct physical surfaces enables the development of different economic activities in each part of it (Meyer, 2014).

These natural physical conditions are critical in the discourse of Brazil's political representatives, because they are the bases of the belief of the country as a natural giant destined to occupy a prominent status in the world. The natural resources located in the Brazilian territory also contribute to enrich the country and be part of trade options and strategies.

In the north of Brazil, the Amazon rainforest holds the biggest hydrographic complex in the world (Penna Filho, 2013). When considering the Tocantis/Araguaia watershed, the result is 7,000,000 km² of hydrographic basin. 70% of this entire complex is in the Brazilian territory. The remaining 30% is spread throughout other eight countries

in South America²² (Secretariat of Water Resources of the Ministry of Environment of Brazil, 2006). The Amazon region also has 11% of the world's reserves of fresh water and the largest biodiversity on the planet (Ferreira, 2014).



Figure 2: South America Physical Map (World Maps Online, 2017)

The map above highlights the physical features of South America, showing in the Brazilian territory, the hydrographic complex that permeates almost the entire country,

²² The Amazon rainforest occupies part of the territories of the following countries: Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, French Guyana, Guyana, Peru, Suriname, and Venezuela.

especially the north and northeast regions, where the Tocantins/Araguaia watershed is located. The Amazon rainforest is the green part in the map that occupies the North of the country. It is possible to see the amount of rivers that run through this entire region that is the largest space on earth holding the largest biodiversity and natural resources.

The Brazilian natural resources are rich in quantity and quality throughout an extensive base of natural regions and favorable soil and climate. The Brazilian natural sources provide a comparative advantage to the country, particularly regarding agriculture, livestock, fisheries, forestry, industry, and agribusiness (Moreira et al., 2016).

Besides Brazil's big proportions of size, physical structures, and strategic location, the potential of this state can also be expressed through its population. Brazil is the most populated country in South America with 206 million of inhabitants (IBGE, 2017b) and also the one with the most intense miscegenation in the subcontinent. The ethnic-biological composition of this population has mainly African, European, and Indigenous heritage (Schwarcz, 1994). This fact results in a psychosocial effect on the Brazilian people who develop a patriotic feeling for their own country and also a connection to their ancestry. In more concrete terms, miscegenation in Brazil built a bridge between the population and other parts of the world facilitating the interaction and the sense of proximity between the country and other regions of the planet (Libório and Salvan, 2015). Brazil's large population is also a work force of great dimension developing the productive activities of the country and contributing to the national economic growth (Linhares da Silva, 2012).

In the past decades Brazil registered impressive rates of economic growth being the 7th biggest economy in the world in 2015 (Henriques, 2015). Due to the political and economic crisis the country is currently going through, Brazil now occupies the 9th position in the World Bank's rank with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 1,774,725 million of US dollars, still being the biggest economy in Latin America (World Bank, 2016).

The Brazilian national economy is heavily based on the production and exportation of raw materials. One of the main destinations of the country's exports is China, an actor with recent, but great importance in the region, which has also been investing capital in Brazil. (Kotschwar, 2014). Besides the focus on the production of raw material, Brazil has the largest industrial park in South America with investment for the acquisition and development of equipment and technology. Owning the biggest reserve of plant biomass, Brazil created and developed the most advanced agricultural technology in the world (Balsan, 2006). It also has invested in alternative technologies for energy sources, such as the ethanol biofuel developed from the babaçu and dendê oils and from sugar cane (Sallet, 2011). The "pré-sal" oil field is also a target for the country's investments in technologies for oil exploration in deep waters (Petrobras, 2017). All these activities have been contributing to the country's economic growth.

The last topic regarding Brazil's capability encompasses the country's military power. This aspect is critical not only to understand Brazil's material capabilities, but also to evaluate its exercise of power in the international system, which will be addressed in the next section. The military power of a country influences its decision of relying

more on exerting hard power over other states in the world, which is related to the use of force and physical threat as a strategy; or soft power, in which influence over others is made through smoother tactics such as dialogue and cooperation (Nye, 2004)

Among all the armed forces in South America, Brazil is the one that has the most powerful military power. Compared to the other countries in the subcontinent, the Brazilian armed forces exceed in number, equipment and also have a sophisticated technologic national industry and the knowledge to build submarines and aircrafts (Pastore, 2004; Brazilian Government, 2014b). Compared to other great powers in the world, Brazil does not present a considerable powerful military force. However, regarding the claim of regional leader, the fact that the country possesses the greatest material power in the Latin America is already a step towards assuming such position, as the definition of regional leadership in the first chapter suggests.

As I will address in the next section, besides this great military power in the region, Brazil is considered as a peaceful country with few records of participation in armed conflicts. The country follows the rules of the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which limit the country's possession and development of this technology (Presidency of the Republic of Brazil, 1998). This fact does not place Brazil in a disadvantageous position facing the other countries in the region, since the other South American states also do not develop nuclear weapons. Therefore, despite the fact that the Brazilian armed forces do not surpass in numbers and development the great powers in the world, such as the United States, the country has a potent military power in South America, being ahead of the other countries in the region.

Brazil has one of the greatest natural reserves in the world, where there are plenty of energetic, hydric, food resources and industrial raw material. The country also has a considerable technology and scientific capacity in areas such as aeronautics, military, and biotechnology material (Brazilian Ministry of the Environment, 2000; Brazilian Government, 2014b). Its large population, with a considerable portion in adulthood, represents a crucial workforce that contributes to the other factors of economic development and growth (Ferreira, 2014).

Besides these advantages, the Brazilian geographic location and physical features provide the country with a strategic geopolitics²³, which is a means of exercising power through the geographic characteristics of a certain physical territory. Geopolitics has a significant impact on how a national government conducts internal and external policies, creates military strategies for national defense, and finds the best options to reach a goal (Correia, 2012). Geopolitics has a great instrumental value in allocating means for strategic and political leadership goals. In the ultimate instance, it is also useful in understanding a country's international role. Geopolitics is also one of the origins and the means of a country to exert influence and power over other countries, at the same time avoiding being influenced by them (Ugarte, 1981).

Therefore, understanding Brazil's geographical features and capabilities in conjunction with the analysis of the discourse of the country's leaders, it is possible to infer what the Brazilian geopolitics is. Brazil is a state of great proportions, significant

²³ Geopolitics is studied in the fields of political science and geography with the focus on elements such as geography, history, politics, economy, and strategy. Geopolitics is important for a state to formulate policies for its citizens and it is also substantial in the creation of national strategies to achieve internal and external goals (Ugarte, 1981).

natural resources, and with the greatest population, economy, and military power in Latin America. Based on these characteristics and the country's geopolitics, we can infer that the Brazilian leaders have included in their discourses the self-acknowledgment of the country as a natural leader. Therefore, Brazil's geopolitics encompasses the creation of policies that enable the country to exert power over South America and become an influential actor in multilateral institutions. The following section will address in more details how Brazil exerts power in its region and then it will be possible to have a clear idea of the country's perception of its role.

Exercise of Power

The strategies and means through which a state exercises power in the international system are important variables when studying foreign policy, regional leadership, and role conception. According to Nye (2009), power is not easy to define, but it can be considered as an ability to exert influence on others having them doing something they would not do. Such ability to exert power relies on material resources, ideology, or the combination of both. As hard power, the author explains that it is the ability to get a desirable behavior from the other by the use of payment or coercion. Political leaders often associate power with the possession of some material resources such as, economy, military power, population, and territorial dimensions.

Therefore, a state would be powerful if it possessed these resources and exercised its influence on others through its ability. However, the fact of having such material resources does not automatically classify a state as powerful. Leaders have to know how to use them applying leadership skills and well-planned strategies (Coleman, 1997).

Nye (2004) states that leadership is also a key variable that allows us to understand differences between hard power and soft power. The latter is the result of resources exerting influence over others, but the difference is when the others want to get the assets, which can be material or ideational. The useful resources to exercise soft power are usually culture, political values, and foreign policy. These elements are powerful when they are attractive to others, when one is seen as moral and legitimate, or when different states share the same values.

One of the methodologies used to identify the type of power exercised by a state is discourse analysis. By studying the discourses of FHC and Lula, Lustig (2016) concluded that the country predominantly exercised soft power. After the Cold War, Brazil was engaged in reshaping its geopolitics and economy in order to increase its presence in South America and to legitimize a leadership position in the region. The analysis of the country's policies and actions shows that, one of the strategies to achieve this goal is represented in the history Brazil has of avoiding coercion and direct conflict.

Brazil's preference for exercising soft power can also be explained by the country's lack of a powerful military force in global terms. Soft power is often used as a complement of hard power, but it is essentially based on the attractiveness of aspects such as culture, values, and political ideals (Nye, 2004). The exercise of soft power by Brazil gained more importance in the 1990s when the country's multilateral strategy was intensified (Burgess, 2008).

During Cardoso's first administration, it is possible to notice some elements of hard power in his speech. However, since then the country's presidential discourses have

shown a predominance of the exercise of soft power. Cardoso considered Brazil as a pacific country. According to the former president's own words, this feature is something positive in the international system:

[...] Brazil, by its trajectory and its peculiarities of a country with trend to peace and cultural tolerance, would always be at the disposal of other nations, mainly of the neighbors, to be useful in the international forums, especially in the Security Council. (Translated by the author) (Cardoso, 2006).²⁴

In this quote it is possible to notice that the former president cites the Brazilian pacifism as a strategy to promote the country internationally, as he mentions the United Nations Security Council, which later will be a goal of the Brazilian administration to get a permanent seat in the council²⁵. During Lula's presidency, the only trace of hard power was related to the emphasis given to the Brazilian economy, due to the plan of establishing the country as an important actor in the international system (Valença and Carvalho, 2014; Lustig, 2016).

The socio cultural sphere constitutes one of the main aspects of the Brazilian exercise of soft power. There is continuity in this aspect in the discourse of the country's presidents in the past decades, especially toward South America. The country's foreign policy presents a feature of constancy throughout the years regarding goals and exercise of power (Lafer, 2000).

Material resources, which include military power, are an important element in defining a master role such as middle power and regional leader, which are international roles claimed by Brazil. On the other hand, the strategies of exercise of power of a state

²⁴ “[...] o Brasil, por sua trajetória e suas peculiaridades de país com uma cultura de paz e tolerância cultural, estaria sempre à disposição das demais nações, principalmente das vizinhas, para ser útil nos fóruns internacionais, especialmente no Conselho de Segurança.” (Cardoso, 2006).

²⁵ See next chapter.

in the international system, which is related to the material and non-material resources, are critical in allowing a country to enact its auxiliary roles. The master role shapes the auxiliary roles (Wehner, 2015), and both are sustained by the capabilities and ability of exercising power one state has.

In the past years Brazil has been involved in some peacekeeping missions, which besides the application of material resources, the goal is not to exert influence from this kind of capability. Rather, the country's intention is to provide humanitarian and social assistance, which can in exchange create a positive image of Brazil. At the same time, Brazil's involvement in such activities is a type of auxiliary role played by the country. This is important to not only create an international attractive image of Brazil as mediator or humanitarian, but also to reinforce the country's willingness and ability to play the auxiliary roles inherent of the master roles that interest Brazil, such as middle power and regional leader.

Currently, the country is present in some missions coordinated by the United Nations such as MINURSO (Western Sahara), MINUSTAH (Haiti), UNFICYP (Cyprus), UNIFIL (Lebanon), UNISFA (Sudan), UNMIL (Liberia), UNMISS (Southern Sudan) UNOCI (Ivory Coast), MINUSCA (Central African Republic). The mission in Haiti stands out because Brazil has been present in the country since 2004 with the first goal of pacifying the local communities. Throughout the years, Brazil has helped in the reconstruction of Haiti after natural disasters, focusing on the country's development, humanitarian issues, and social wellbeing as well (Monteiro, 2016).

The Brazilian policy-makers have been focused on projecting the country's power in the international system. However, this goal is put in practice through non-material means, as the country's foreign policy and international behavior has shown throughout history (Hamann, 2012). According to Valença and Carvalho (2014), the use of soft power and the shape of the Brazil's foreign policy during the years demonstrate the country's attempts to achieve the position of regional leadership in South America and to consolidate its international prominence. Applying a soft power strategy is a common tactic of countries like Brazil that are important in the international system with big aspirations, but unable to rely on hard power capabilities.

It is clear that Brazil has a history of being a peaceful country, avoiding wars and direct conflicts with other states. The country has exercised soft power regionally and globally, according to its goals. Besides the Brazilian presence in other countries of other regions with its assistance for peacekeeping missions, it is also relevant to remember the country's relationship and ties with the South-South region. In Africa, for example, Brazil has exercising soft power through the propagation of ideas, cultural values, and policies that have benefited both sides.

Therefore, by analyzing the discourse of Brazilian leaders and the country's actions and strategies, it is possible to perceive that Brazil does not have a history of exercising hard power over other countries in the world. However, due to its goals of international projection and regional leadership, having influence over other states and regions is a strategy to gain allies and followers that legitimize its rising position and leadership role. Nonetheless, by taking advantage of cultural aspects amongst itself and

other countries to create mutual cooperation and at the same time shaping a foreign policy that looks attractive to others, create an interesting image of Brazil in the international arena, contributing to the country's exercise of power.

Brazil's Perception of its Role in South America

A country's foreign policy, the means through which a state exercises power in the world, and the manner through which its geographical features and capabilities impact on its discourse and strategies are crucial elements to understand an international role. By analyzing the Brazilian foreign policy from the country's last leaders to the present, coupled with its capabilities and international exercise of power give us a clear picture of the country's role in South America.

Foreign Policy Analysis role theory as a useful tool to understanding international roles has been mainly applied to the study of national role conceptions of countries in the Global North. There are a small number of works done on this topic about Latin America (Thies, 2014), besides the lately growing importance of the topic for those focused on the region. Among these studies about role conception in Latin America, few consider the perceptions and expectations of the self and the other. Most of the works focus primarily on the ego, usually in Brazil's own conception of itself. Therefore, this thesis represents an attempt to contribute to the literature of the field by presenting a critical and detailed analysis of both sides of the same coin, which are the ego and the alter as two necessary parts involved in shaping an international role.

Starting with FHC in the 1990s, Brazil presented a foreign policy focused on South America, but without removing the focus from the North Hemisphere. The region

became more important for the country when Lula became the president. At this time, the leadership discourse took a clearer shape and gained more strength. Brazil is the biggest country in South America located in a strategic position, being a continental and maritime country that shares borders with ten of the other twelve countries in the region. The country also has a big population and natural resources, which contribute to its economy that currently occupies the ninth position in the world and the first one in South America.

The Brazilian administration throughout the years has demonstrated itself to be aware of the country's potentialities. The presidents over the years have emphasized the features of the country such as its geographical size, the prominence of the economy, and the impact of its foreign policy. This has contributed to shape the idea of Brazil as natural giant destined to be great, achieving international recognition and the region's leadership.

Besides having the greatest military force in the region, Brazil does not use the size of its economy and military capacity to exercise power over other states. The country relies on softer means of exerting power such as cooperation, exchange of experiences, political values, and cultural aspects to promote a relationship with others. This type of exercise of power through a smoother approach is classified as soft power and it has been present in Brazil's foreign policy for a long time.

Role conception encompasses the rules and actions chosen by a country's policy-makers as a standard of what their state should perform in the international sphere (Holsti, 1983). The role of middle power is achieved by politically influential countries in the world with great international prominence and regional power (Keohane, 1969; Nolte, 2010). Brazil perceives its role as a middle power in the world and the occupation of this

position due to the country's capabilities and the shape and results of its foreign policy throughout the decades. The role of regional leader overall addresses a country's relevance in a region, considering its level of influence of the others, regional representativeness, material capabilities, and institutional commitment (Nolte, 2010). Brazil's claims the role of South America's leader to itself. However, a state needs the other's support to legitimize the position of regional leader.

Starting the analysis from a small scale and subsequently extending it, Brazil needs support from the South American countries to become a regional leader, as well as the approval of other states in the world to achieve its greater goals of global ascendancy, such as getting a permanent seat in the UNSC. Believing in its capacity to keep rising in the region and beyond it, the strategies of the country's foreign policy and the exercise of soft power is used by Brazil to get allies and consequently the necessary support to achieve its goals. This behavior is labeled as "consensual hegemony", when a country tries to gain followers and supports not through the exercise of imposition and the use of force, but through shaping its policies in a way they are attractive and interesting to others (Burgess, 2008)

In summary, Brazil considers itself a middle power in the world with potential to keep growing. In South America, the country perceives itself as a regional power with a natural destiny to become the leader of the region. However, Brazil's own conception of its role does not make it real. The perception of others is important to determine what the role of Brazil is in South America, indeed. That is why it is necessary to know the conception of the Brazilian role in the region according to another country in the region.

Therefore, in the next chapter I will address how Argentina perceives Brazil in South America.

CHAPTER 3: ARGENTINA'S CONCEPTION OF BRAZIL IN SOUTH AMERICA

The previous chapter analyzed the perception Brazil has regarding its own role in South America. The country is studied as the self (or ego) in this thesis and it was possible to conclude that Brazil considers itself as a middle power in the international system and a regional power in South America with natural potential to become a regional leader in the future. This chapter contains an analysis of the other (or alter), which is the conception Argentina has of Brazil.

The rise of Brazil in South America caused reactions for other countries in the region, which are a natural response of the system to any change in the division of power (Zakaria, 2008). As a result of Brazil assuming, or attempting to assume new status in the world, the position occupied by the lusophone country depends on its self-conception of it, as well as the perception of the others. Considering Brazil's efforts of becoming a regional leader in South America, it is important to have in mind that other countries in the region have to recognize Brazil as one. That is the relevance of studying Argentina's conception of its neighbor.

A role is only formed with the perceptions and expectations of the ego and the alter combined (Harnisch, 2001; Wendt, 1994), and both are equally important in the analysis of an international. The existent studies about roles played by states usually either underestimate the importance of understanding the alter's perspective of the ego, or the approach of this conception is underdeveloped. On top of that, few works have been done in this sense about Latin America.

Argentina was chosen as the alter to be studied in this thesis because this country presents a history of rivalry and cooperation with Brazil. Therefore, Argentina has never had a neutral position towards its neighbor. Analyzing the Argentinian conception of Brazil's role in South America provides us with a critical insight of the actual role Brazil plays in the region and the responses the latter gets from its neighbors.

This chapter is constituted by the analysis of the alter in a role conception analysis addressing more than just the Argentinian foreign policy towards Brazil in the time period studied in this thesis. The scope encompasses the history of relationship between both countries, as well as Argentina's international positioning, regardless of Brazil's interference. This broader analysis gives us a better understanding of the formation of the perspective Argentina has about Brazil's role in South America.

Historical Background

The governments of Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Kirchner constitute the period of time studied in this thesis. Therefore, the dynamics and relationship between Brazil and Argentina is studied from early 2000s until 2015, which is the time when both presidents ruled in Argentina, help us identify the country's current perception of the Brazilian role in the region. Nonetheless, in order to understand the role Brazil plays in South America according to its neighbor, we have to address the historical components that shape the Argentinian conception of the lusophone state in the region.

Argentina has faced six *coups d'état* and a considerable number of *coups de palace*. The period of time of 1930 to 1983 was marked by economic problems and political instability in the country (Nallim, 2012; Cooney, 2007). It was in the last year of

this era that a new democratic administration was installed, which remains intact until today, but not without political turbulence (Malamud, 2011a). In 2003, Néstor Kirchner assumed the presidency of Argentina with 22 percent of the votes, which represents the lowest percentage of a victory in elections in the country. At the same time, he had to face the consequences of the crisis in 2001 that broke the country and affected its political system (Vadell, 2006).

Social, political, economic, and institutional internal factors in conjunction with external factors such as the risky dynamics of the international financial market and the devaluation of the Brazilian currency in 1999, worsened the crisis in Argentina that was initiated in Carlos Menem's²⁶ administration (Fernandes, 2003). The failure of the former president Fernando de la Rúa²⁷ in fulfilling the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) established goals for the country worsened the economic situation of Argentina (Margheritis, 2006).

From 2002 on, the Argentinian economy started to present signs of improvement. After four years of Néstor Kirchner's administration, the country had strengthened its economy and presented a more cohesive political structure. In 2007 Néstor's wife, Cristina Fernández Kirchner assumed the presidency of the country (Busso, 2006). During the years both presidents ruled in Argentina, the country's foreign policy was focused on establishing key alliances with partners around the world and in defining the problematic actors for the country's goals (Margheritis, 2010).

²⁶ Carlos Menem ruled in Argentina as president for 1989 to 1999. The 2001 crisis has its roots in his administration. The anachronism of his administration combined with hyperinflation and monetary problems set the basis for the country's crisis in early 2000s (Batista Jr., 2002).

²⁷ Fernando de la Rúa was the president of Argentina from 1999-2001. His administration was considered deficient with failures in applying measures to curb the crisis and leadership and political instabilities. De la Rúa resigned his position in December of 2001 (Margheritis, 2006).

In the last century the Brazilian foreign policy became known as coherent and compromised with continuity (Lampreia, 1998). On the other hand, the foreign policy chosen by Argentina in the same century followed three different paths. From 1880 until the inter-war period, Argentina was firmly aligned with Europe, in opposition to the U.S., and isolated from its neighbors and the other Latin American states (Arroyo-Rojas, 2001). After the Second World War, the country preserved the detachment from the U.S., but changed in regards to its relationship with Latin America. Argentina started to defend regional integration in the subcontinent, but the country did not put significant effort in promoting such integration. At this point, Argentina's goal was the country's development and autonomy (Russell and Tokatlian, 2006). The third positioning of the Argentinian foreign policy in the twentieth century was associated with Menem's automatic alignment with the U.S.. This strategy put the state in harmony with the North American country's interests and economic terms. Menem was in favor of the Washington Consensus and the neoliberal ideas, being supportive to free market and to the American ideologies (Bambaci, Saront, and Tommasi, 2000).

The next shift in the Argentinian foreign policy came with the Kirchners. The idea of keeping the allies close and defining the enemies remained, but the focus changed from the North to the South. The South American countries, especially Brazil and Venezuela, gained prominence for Argentina. On the other hand, actors such as the U.S. and the IMF lost importance to the country (Malamud, 2011a).

However, these recent features of the Argentinian administration and foreign policy also had an impact on the country's relationship with Brazil. The political

dynamics between Brazil and Argentina presents its cycles throughout history from detachment to proximity. From 1800s until 1980s, the relationship between both countries was instable and marked by rivalry. The 1980s represents the era when Brazil and Argentina strengthen their ties with bilateral cooperation and agreements that last until present days (Candeas, 2005).

These are general aspects of the more recent history of the Argentinian foreign policy and its relationship with Brazil and other main partners. However, the perception of Brazil held by Argentina in the 21st century is not the same as it was in the previous years. In order to understand this perception, it is critical to have a notion of the past relationship between these two countries and the Argentinian international performance.

The table below provides more information about the international positioning of Argentina throughout history and the structure of relationship with Brazil and the Latin American subcontinent since the processes of independence until the present.

Table 1: History of Argentinian Foreign Policy (Candeas, 2005)

Year	Relationship Argentina-Brazil	Argentinian strategies for international rise	Relationship Argentina-Latin America
1810-1898	Structural instability with predominance of rivalry.	Depending on Great Britain. Close alignment to Europe and rivalry with the U.S.	Detachment and non-interference. Episodes of intervention in Uruguay and in the Paraguay War.

Table 1: continued

1898-1914	Instable. Attempts of cooperation with moments of rivalry.	Neutral in the World Wars. Attempt to maintain dependence on Great Britain. Rivalry with the U.S.	Diplomatic prominence. Mediator in the Chaco War. Attempts to create commercial integration.
1946-1955		Heterodox autonomy towards the U.S. Universalization of commercial and diplomatic contacts.	Willingness to spread peronism ideas.
1955-1961		Alignment with the U.S at the same time as looking for autonomy.	Attempts to solve territorial and economic interdependence issues. Ambiguous regarding the Cuban Revolution.
1962-1973	Instable. Predominance of rivalry.	Attempt to revise the heterodox autonomy.	Hostile to Chile. Fighting against the “communist infiltration”.
1973-1976		Oscillation between heterodox autonomy and alignment with the U.S. Falklands War.	
1976-1979		Persistence in the heterodox model focusing on the non-alignment strategy.	
1979-1983	Creation of structural stability for cooperation.	Alignment with the U.S. Search for global strategic prominence.	Re-democratization and plans of economic interdependence.
1983-1988		Mercosul. Attempts to represent the U.S. strategic interests.	
1988-1989	Creation of structural stability for integration.	New heterodox autonomy.	Integration. Proximity to Venezuela.
1989-2001			
2002-present			

Until 1860 Argentina was not the only country focused on Europe. Brazil presented such attitude as well; Europe was the main economic partner of the South American countries. However, Argentina developed the notion that it was especially different in the region. This is mostly due to the relationship with Europe and the immigration of this continent's inhabitants to Argentina that created the picture of Argentina as a European country outside Europe with high potential to grow in every term (Candeas, 2010). Therefore, during early 20th century Latin America was not important either to Brazil or to Argentina. The relationship between both countries was based on rivalry, because both states believed in their capacity to grow internationally. Due to this fact Argentina perceived Brazil as a threat to its rise (Mello, 1996).

These early conditions set the basis for the Brazilian-Argentinian rivalry. This competition became more intense with the two countries' different interactions with the U.S. The positive relationship between Brazil and the U.S. increased the mistrust of Argentina towards its neighbor (Rapoport and Madrid, 2011). Therefore, during the beginning of the 20th century the leadership competition between Brazil and Argentina intensified. The scenario of mistrust and competitiveness lasted until the end of the military regimes in the region (Milani, 2016).

The end of the dictatorships in both countries changed the relationship between Brazil and Argentina. In 1982 during the Falklands War, Brazil remained neutral, but it demonstrated support to Argentina, which was the beginning of the rapprochement with its neighbor (Hurrell, 1998). In the same decade, the two countries solved their major political and economic issues. One of the contention points between them was the rivalry

regarding hydroelectric power, but the countries involved found out a way to cooperate in this sense instead of competing with each other (Hilton, 1985). Agreements in different areas were achieved as well, such as the nuclear cooperation and exchange of technology (Solingen, 2001), which lasts until today and marks a specific aspect of cooperation between both countries. Antonio Patriota, the first Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs during Rousseff's administration emphasizes this point in his speech during the ceremony of transmission of the political post from Celso Amorim to Patriota: "[...] the Brazil-Argentina relationship, [lives] now a moment of fullness and advances in a wide spectrum of initiatives that include areas such as space cooperation and peaceful uses of nuclear energy." (Translated by the author) (Patriota, 2011).²⁸

Politically, Brazil and Argentina created a mechanism of mutual consultation of diplomatic issues of interests of both countries. The rapprochement of the 1980s also provided economic advantages with progress made from the cooperation between the countries to engage in energy production and technological exchange, for example (Darnton, 2014). The period of re-democratization in South America marked the moment when Brazil and Argentina started to consolidate a cooperative relationship.

The positioning of both countries towards Latin America also gradually changed. During the 19th century Brazil was seen as the "other" in the region for social and cultural differences compared to the Hispanic America. In the 20th century this difference became less evident, when Argentina and Brazil slowly turned their focus to the region (Milani, 2016). This background sets our understanding of the basis of the Argentinian foreign

²⁸ "[...] a relação Brasil-Argentina, que vive hoje um momento de plenitude e avança em um vasto espectro de iniciativas que incluem áreas como a cooperação em matéria espacial e dos usos pacíficos da energia nuclear." (Patriota, 2011).

policy throughout the years and helps us to identify the country's perception of Brazil's role in South America. Considering the time frame specified in this study, the Kirchners' governments constitute a key element in identifying the conception Argentina created about Brazil since the "pink tide".

The changes in the Argentinian foreign policy throughout the years are remarkable. Other countries in Latin America presented similar behavior in some aspects as well, such as the alignment with the US and the later decision to focus on the region. However, Argentina presents a more unstable history than Brazil, which makes it harder the attempt to put the country in a well-defined category for a long period of time.

This challenge has lasted for years. The Kirchners' governments in this context were not heterodox as Evo Morales in Bolivia or Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, but at the same time, they were not orthodox as Lula's administration in Brazil and Michelle Bachelet in Chile (Malamud, 2011a). The beginning of the 21st century with the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in the U.S. and the institutional and economic crisis in Argentina brought several changes to the country's national and international political strategies. The development of these events caused an impact in the way Argentina perceived itself. The notion of a European country outside Europe had to be disregarded, particularly because the country's economic and social conditions were not compatible to the European status (Candeas, 2010). The detachment from the U.S. due to the economic support that was not conceived to Argentina during the crisis weakened the plan of maintaining a special alliance with this country, getting concrete benefits in exchange (Milani, 2016).

Within this context and still under Duhalde's administration, the relationship between Argentina and its South American neighbors gained more prominence. The plans to guarantee development, autonomy, and international recognition to the country put the region in first place. During Néstor Kirchner's administration these strategies were consolidated and Brazil became one of Argentina's main partners (Marconetto, 2014). Lula's positioning in Brazil was not different from the other leftist presidents in the region. Assuming a critical posture towards the U.S. and willing to strengthen bilateral relations with Argentina facilitated both countries' interaction and partnership (Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2007).

The different political and economic paths Brazil and Argentina followed in the past, particularly in the last two decades, were crucial in determining the position both countries currently occupy in South America. Starting in the 1990s, Brazil presented fair rates of economic growth coupled with a prominent activism in the world that allowed the country to improve its international status. On the other hand, the Argentinian history of inconsistent foreign policy that radically changed during decades in addition to the harsh economic crisis faced by the country in 2001, put Argentina in a lower position when compared to Brazil, which also amplifies the difference of power projection between them.

In a regional hierarchy, the states that possess the bigger material and ideological capabilities are the ones playing the master role of regional powers (Wehner, 2015). A secondary power is also a master role, but the states occupying this position are the ones with less material resources and political influence within the region *vis-à-vis* the regional

power (Flemes and Wojczewski, 2010; Huntington, 1999). Secondary powers are critical in the acceptance of the regional leadership role claimed by another state (Nolte, 2010). Therefore, understanding Argentina's perspective of Brazil in South America is important not only as studying a role conception by the point of view of the alter, but as analyzing an alter which is also a secondary power.

The responses of the secondary states to the power claims of the regional power cause more impact to the latter's aspiration than the reactions of small regional powers. Which means that Argentina's role conception of Brazil and its responses to the Brazilian rise in South America can interfere in the latter's goals in a more meaningful way than the perspective of less prominent countries in the region. In this context, the relationship between them is significant to the extent that it helps to shape the intensity of Argentina's reactions to Brazil's regional claims.

Brazil and Argentina have strengthened their relationship since the rapprochement between them in the 1980s. Brazil still remains to be one of Argentina's main partners. The relationship between Cristina Kirchner and Dilma Rousseff was of cooperation and commitment in carrying on the two former presidents' mutual goals. As well as Néstor Kirchner and Lula also had a positive relationship demonstrated in their meetings and conversations, the same environment was preserved with the successor presidents of both countries.

The following speech of Cristina Kirchner in a press conference with Rousseff in Argentina in 2011 highlights what the official website of the Argentinian presidential

house described as the importance of maintaining a good relationship between Brazil and Argentina, giving continuity to what Néstor Kirchner and Lula consolidated.

From what some call today as a "world in crisis", I never get tired of calling it as a "world of change", which must be interpreted, decoded, and exploited by those who have institutional responsibilities, especially for those who, like President Rousseff and I, believe deeply in national growth and sovereignty. [...] That is why I say that if Brazil and Argentina were united so far, I think that from now on they will be even more so. This is what both of us presidents want and that has resulted in multiple meetings that have been made by our collaborators and which have resulted in multiple agreements, but fundamentally, agreements that will be followed and deepened by concrete actions. (Translated by the author) (Fernández Kirchner, 2011).²⁹

Starting with Néstor Kirchner, the Argentinian administration emphasized the importance of establishing a connection with South America since the beginning of the 2000s. This strategy was coupled with the goal of subsequent rise of the country in the international system. This goal of his administration is due to the belief that, in a globalized world, the rise of a national government in the external arena depends on the structure where a country is located (Milani, 2016). Therefore, regional cooperation has been a key element to promote the rise of Argentina. Rising as an important power in the world is not a new goal for Argentina. However, the plan of focusing on the region and gaining prominence in South America is a more recent strategy of the country. As pointed out by the former president Néstor Kirchner in the meeting of Mercosul in 2003, the Argentinian insertion in the world starts with the country's regional prominence.

²⁹ "De esto que hoy algunos denominan "mundo en crisis", yo no me canso de calificarlo como "un mundo de cambios", que deben ser interpretados, decodificados y aprovechados por quienes tenemos responsabilidades institucionales, sobre todo para quienes, como la presidenta Rousseff y yo, creemos profundamente en el crecimiento y en las soberanías nacionales. [...] Por eso, digo que si hasta ahora Brasil y Argentina estaban unidos, creo que a partir de ahora estarán aún más. Esto es lo que ambas Presidentas queremos y que se ha traducido en múltiples reuniones que han hecho nuestros colaboradores y que se han traducido en múltiples acuerdos, pero fundamentalmente, acuerdos que van a ser seguidos y profundizados por acciones concretas." (Former president Cristina Fernández Kirchner's speech at a meeting with Dilma Rousseff in January 31st, 2011).

You all know the emphasis I placed during my political trajectory on highlighting the importance, the hierarchy, and the priority represented by Mercosul as a process of integration and as the most important way of raising the Argentinian Republic in the international community. (Translated by the author) (Kirchner, 2003).³⁰

Regional integration was seen by the Argentinian administration as an important strategy of development, creation of autonomy, and increase of the international status. Having closer relations with Europe, the U.S., or South America, Argentina has presented a history of highlighting the importance of the country and the willingness to rise in the international system. Brazil became one of Argentina's main partners in the region in the past decades; however, the neighbor's plan to acquire international recognition and become the leader of the region was not seen favorably by Argentina.

Despite the mutual interest in South America and the critical reception of the U.S. by Argentina and Brazil, both countries were not in agreement in all aspects. With changes in the distribution of power in the world and region in early 2000s, Brazil started to present higher growth rates than Argentina, much due to the crisis in the latter. This enhanced the asymmetry between Brazil and Argentina and the former's ability to compete for regional leadership (Miranda, 2009).

Brazil's perception of itself as a country destined to rise and acquire more global prominence resulted in an international projection of power with more audacious plans started in Lula's government. A leadership goal requires a country to be outstanding in the security and defense arenas as well. Therefore, Brazil turned its attention to the

³⁰ "Todos ustedes saben el énfasis que he puesto durante mi trayectoria política en subrayar la importancia, la jerarquía y la prioridad que le asigno al MERCOSUR como proceso de integración y como la más importante vía de inserción de la República Argentina en la comunidad internacional." (Former president Nestor Kirchner's speech at the Summit of the heads of state of Mercosul in June 18th, 2003).

demand of a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in Lula's administration (Andrade, 2012). This decision became a point of tension between Brazil and Argentina. Getting a permanent seat in the UNSC would boost the Brazilian status in the world, as well as it would be an international recognition of the country as an important player in the world. This scenario would consolidate the asymmetry between Brazil and Argentina. In the 1990s there was tension between both countries due to the lack of support from Argentina regarding Brazil's ambitions in the UNSC, which continued to affect their perceptions of each other (Winand, 2010).

Argentina has been in favor of a reform in the Security Council but was against of including more permanent seats in it. Argentina defended representatives of all regions in the UNSC through rotation amongst the states of each region. This argument supports the idea that Brazil was not considered the representative of Latin or South America, which is defended by Argentina and some other countries in the region (Milani, 2016).

Therefore, Brazil faced difficulties in legitimizing its candidacy due to the lack of support in the entire region. The country's desire to secure a permanent seat in the UNSC implied a leadership role in Latin America. Argentina perceived this strategy as a plan of individual power projection rather than a means to represent the region (Barbosa, 2015). To Argentina, Brazil' focus on South America was a strategy to gain higher status in the international system, going much beyond the region. The Argentinian administration, on the other hand, built a discourse demonstrating that the region had a greater importance in the country's foreign policy. Therefore, after restructuring the state infrastructure after

the crisis, the intention was to grow in South America, and then rise internationally, as it is clear in the former president Néstor Kirchner's speech below.

[Argentina is] facing a way to restructure the gigantic foreign debt and we intend to shape a process of structural indebtedness, non-intervention and autonomy that guarantees the solidity in the medium and long term of the country we are rebuilding. [...] We want to integrate ourselves in the world in an intelligent way and in order to do that we must obviously achieve sufficient internal sustainability. (Translated by the author) (Kirchner, 2004).³¹

When Brazil affirmed its position as a global actor and regional leader, Argentina stepped back and reshaped its foreign policy closer to the U.S. and regional allies in order to balance the neighbor (Russell, 2002). In the region, Argentina joins forces with Venezuela to balance Brazil's rise (Pape, 2005; Lieber and Alexander, 2005). Venezuela also has a history of interest in South America and in becoming the leader of the region. Therefore, while Néstor and Cristina Kirchner created strong ties of cooperation with Brazil, they also guaranteed a close relationship with Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, who was a partner in containing the lusophone neighbor (Malamud, 2011a).

Argentina and Brazil were rival dyads for a long period of time; however, they have created and strengthened a cooperation relationship that now lasts for almost three decades. However, cooperation does not mean support. Argentina's opposition to Brazil's candidacy for a permanent seat in the UNSC exemplifies the former's lack of support to the neighbor. More than trying to block Brazil's international rise by contesting the

³¹ [...] encarando la reestructuración de la gigantesca deuda externa, y pretendemos dar forma a un proceso de desendeudamiento estructural, desintervención y autonomía que garantice la solidez en el mediano y largo plazo del país que estamos reconstruyendo. [...] Queremos integrarnos al mundo de una manera inteligente y para ello debemos lograr evidentemente la suficiente sustentabilidad interna. (Former president Néstor Kirchner's speech at the Summit of Mercosul in December 17th, 2004).

latter's capacity of assuming a leadership role, Argentina also create ties with other countries in South America to restrain Brazil's ascension.

Flemes and Wojczewski (2010) present this topic by asking why followers do not follow. The authors explain that, in a dyad relationship, the lack of support of secondary powers to the state that claims a more prominent international status is an attempt to preserve the status quo of the region regarding its power distribution. Therefore, secondary powers engage themselves in a strategy called balance of power.

The theories that address balance of power focus on particular foreign policy decisions and actions chosen by a state as an attempt to equilibrate, overcome, or block another state's power (Mowle and Sacko, 2007). The balance of power strategy in the international level can occur through the formation of alliances between two or more states with the goal of weaken a targeted country by affecting its power capabilities (Tziampiris, 2015).

"Alliance" is a concept with more than one definition that are related to the conditions and environment where the term is formed in reality. A common feature of the definitions of this term when applied to international relations is the existence of arrangements between states, which can be formal or informal, encompassing concerns about political or military and security issues (Walt, 1987). Most of the times when states form alliances as a balance of power strategy towards a targeted state; they do so as a response to a perceived threat represented by the latter's power (Walt, 1997).

Studies addressing balancing of power are usually used in a global level of analysis with the focus on coalitions against great powers. However, the same theory can

be applied to the regional level, where subsystems present the same dynamic but in a different scale of intensity (Paul, 2004). Secondary and small powers can balance regional powers or leaders as an attempt to block the major power in the region, such as Argentina balancing Brazil in South America, Pakistan balancing India in South Asia, and Nigeria balancing South Africa in Africa (Flemes and Wojczewski ,2010).

In a balancing of power strategy, the states can create different policies to achieve their goals. One option is to hard balance the targeted country, which is when the alliances between the states use material power such as military resources to contain the leader's projection (Tziampiris, 2015). The second strategy is soft balancing, characteristic of informal alliances when the involved rely on diplomacy, economic influence, institutional premises, and other non-military forms of power (Pape 2005). Contrary to hard balancing, soft balancing is applied in a non-direct way against the targeted state.

The decades that consolidated the cooperation between Brazil and Argentina witnessed the enhancement of the Brazilian international prestige and at the same time the economic, social, and institutional crisis in Argentina, particularly in the years studied in this thesis. Both countries presented similar goals in their foreign policy with differences in the means of achieving them. Brazil and Argentina has long history of rivalry and competition for regional leadership. However, both countries' status since the beginning of the century highlighted the differences between them, being Brazil in better conditions to rise than Argentina. The historical regional leadership competition changed

its pattern when Argentina was not in good conditions to fight for the position anymore, due to the internal issues the country was going through.

Throughout history and particularly during this period of time and after recovering from the crisis, Argentina was reluctant in accepting Brazil's regional prominence, which explains the engagement in blocking the latter's attempts to rise in the international system (Ariyork, 2005). Argentina is not against the existence of a regional leader in South America, as long as the power is shared in the region such as the relationship between Brazil and Argentina within Mercosul and Unasul, in which both countries exercise influence. However, greater achievements, such as a permanent seat in the UNSC, exclude Argentina from the Brazilian power equation, increasing the concern that a gap between both countries will transform their relationship of cooperation into subordination (Wehner, 2011).

Establishing other alliances in the region is also a strategy to soft-balance Brazil's rise (Nye, 2004) in South America and to avoid power asymmetry between Argentina and its neighbor. The Brazilian attempts of gaining international importance and trying to become a regional leader have as response from Argentina a certain level of alignment with Venezuela and/or Mexico in Latin America, or even the U.S. (Malamud, 2011a; Wehner, 2011).

In the last decades, the political and economic differences between Brazil and Argentina allowed the former to grow regionally and globally, acquiring more prominence in the international system. This fact put both countries in different international status, assuming different master roles, being Brazil a regional power and

Argentina a secondary power. Brazil's own conception of its international role also contributed to intensify the country's claims for positions such as regional leader and middle power in constant rise.

As Role Theory explains, in order to an international role to exist, it depends on the ego's self-identification as much as it depends on the alter's recognition of the ego's concept. In this thesis the analysis of the "self" is based on the main state being studied, which is Brazil. However, the analysis of the "other" does not encompass all South American countries. The ones consistently involved in shaping Brazil's role from the alter's perspective and responding to it are the secondary powers in the region, such as Argentina. Secondary powers are in a more prominent position than small powers to affirm the self's role conception, because they are the ones that not only recognize a regional role or not, they are the ones that have enough impact to either favor or deny a country's role conception (Wehner, 2015).

Argentina and other secondary powers in South America recognize Brazil's role in the region as a regional power. Chile, for instance, approves Brazil's auxiliary roles of facilitator, mediator, and manager of regional problems (Wehner, 2015). However, at the same time these countries create informal alliances to balance Brazil's international power. This type of relationship between the regional power and secondary powers is called by Flesher and Wojczewski (2010) as "contested leadership." Part of the definition of leadership as a master role is the existence of the main actor (leader) and the followers (Cooper et al., 1991). A leadership status, as any other role, cannot exist without both parts.

Brazil's Role in South America According to Argentina

The relationship between both Brazil and Argentina is marked by rivalry, starting even before independence from their colonizer states. Argentina maintained a close relationship with Europe for decades. The exchanges between these two poles and the European immigration to Argentina contributed to form in the latter a self-conception of a European country outside Europe with potential to rise and become a developed state. Argentina then aligned itself with the U.S. in the 1950s and remained like that for some decades until re-democratization in Latin America in the 1980s and the later critical perception towards the North American country and its policies.

This same period of time registered the rapprochement between Brazil and Argentina. Both countries started to cooperate economically, politically, and technologically. From rivals to allies, Brazil and Argentina also became two of the main actors within regional institutions in South America such as Mercosul and Unasul. Nonetheless, despite the creation of a close relationship, the history of rivalry and the existence of similar goals regarding foreign policy of both countries, caused different reactions coming from the neighbors.

Argentina also has plans of achieving a prominent status in South America, like Brazil; however, both countries present different paths and results in achieving such position. While Brazil grew economically in the region from the 1990s through the first ten years of the 2000s, Argentina faced a critical crisis in the beginning of the same decade, which put the country in inferior conditions to compete for regional leadership when compared to its neighbor. These factors are one of the main criterion that defined

Brazil regional power and Argentina as a secondary power in South America. Both master roles are recognized by the egos and the others. This is particularly due to the pre-conditions necessary to achieve these statuses that can largely be the measurement of the country's material power. On the other hand, master roles such as regional power, secondary powers, and small powers are existent roles already in the world's different regions. They are not complex to be shaped and consolidated as a regional leadership role, for instance, which emphasizes more the importance non-material capabilities, and is more subject to external contestation.

As discussed throughout this chapter, the foreign policy strategies created Brazil and Argentina to acquire international prominence were also different. Brazil, with Lula and continued with Dilma Rousseff, focused on being active in South American institutions, but the country was also engaged in promoting itself in global organizations. BRICS, South-South cooperation, and the request of a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council are examples of the Brazilian international projection. On the other hand, Argentina focused more on South America, due to the belief that before growing globally, it is necessary to rise regionally first.

The history of rivalry between both countries and the similar plans of regional leadership and global projection, coupled with distinct rates of growth and different strategies resulted in Argentina counterbalancing Brazil's rise. Therefore, by analyzing the Argentinian foreign policy in the last decades, especially since the "pink tide" in conjunction with the analysis of some speeches of the country's two former presidents, it is possible to notice that Argentina considers Brazil as regional power with the ability to

grow regionally and globally. Therefore, since Argentina has similar plans for itself, the country engages in balancing Brazil's rise by allying itself with other regional and global powers. The relationship of cooperation and antagonism between both countries can be understood as what Malamud (2011a) calls "competitive-partnership". This characterization makes Argentina skeptical about conceiving Brazil as a regional leader (Malamud, 2011b; Wehner, 2011). Therefore, the role of Brazil as a regional leader is not only rejected by Argentina, as also the former's intentions are considered as a threat to Argentina's status in South America. This is why the country joins other allies to balance Brazil's regional prominence.

Foreign policy analysis is a key element in understanding role conception. However, it is interesting to study public opinion about international roles. Lustig and Olego (2016) carried out a study in Argentina in order to identify the population's perception of their country's foreign policy towards Brazil. The authors focused on urban centers to conduct their interviews and their findings suggest that the majority of the Argentinian population considers Brazil as a regional power and their general perception of the neighbor is positive.

Mouron, Urdinez, and Onuki (2016) conducted a similar study in Argentina with the country's citizens to investigate about people's sensitivity about Brazilian growing power. With this study, the authors aimed to verify the historical rivalry between both countries and the regional leadership sought by Brazil. The research was conducted with university students and it showed that 65% of the respondents consider Brazil as a regional leader in South America. However, this perception changes when the

interviewees had to compare Argentina's power with Brazil. Those who received data comparing both countries agreed that Argentina needs to align itself with other countries in South America to counterbalance Brazil's rise.

In Argentina, the public opinion about Brazil's role in South America does not differ much from the general role conception of the neighbor that was perceived by analyzing the country's foreign policy. Argentina recognizes Brazil as a regional power, but not a regional leader. Even if the country has the ability to become one, Argentina will counterbalance its rise to avoid a mismatch in both countries' international power.

With Brazil's and Argentina's own perceptions of the former's role in South America, it will be possible to infer more precisely about what in fact the Brazilian role is in the subcontinent. Having a better understanding of this role is important to be able to analyze the dynamics of relationship between both countries and what the deployments of such role brings to South America.

Most studies about the analysis of Brazil's international role are focused only in the country's self-conception of it. The academic works about Role Theory applied to real cases pay attention to the two parts involved in a role conception, the ego and the alter. However, besides the growing number of researches on this topic about Latin America, the majority of studies are focused on other regions. Even the case studies of role conception in Latin American often conduct their analysis directly to their core goal, which is perception of the self and the other. Therefore, the formation of the international role in question remains absent or underdeveloped in such studies.

The contribution this thesis represents to academia is the detailed analysis conducted about how Brazil's role in South America was formed by itself and by Argentina's perception of the country as well. To the specialist in the region or the ones interested in South America, the content of this study provides the tools to understand not only Brazil's role conception in its subcontinent, but also the political dynamics in South America, the patterns of behavior of the countries involved, and the origins of these elements. The study developed in this thesis can be useful for other purposes as well, such as foreign policy analysis, or studies about dyad relations, for example.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF BRAZIL'S ROLE IN SOUTH AMERICA AND ITS DEPLOYMENTS

The emergence of new powers in the world and the ongoing changes in the global division of power and political dynamics became more significant in the beginning of the 21st century. Today, this is a central topic of debate for politicians and scholars of the IR field (Zakaria, 2008). The contemporary idea of a decentralized world was strengthened after 9/11 with the U.S. unilateralism and decision to go to war against the Iraq and to invade Afghanistan. It was when the U.S. started to lose international credibility. This did not affect the country's position in the international system as a superpower, but it changed other states' perception of the U.S. in the world. The loss of international prestige opened space for other countries to position themselves more firmly in the international arena (Lopes, 2009).

All these changes put in focus discussions about a multipolar world where regions and emerging powers gain prominence. This debate is crucial when analyzing foreign policy and the states' responses to the systemic pressures (Schenoni, 2012). Changes in the international system and in the world's division of power bring changes in the perceptions the states have about themselves and the others, particularly with the rise of new global emerging powers and regional leaders. These changes affect the perception of the international roles played by the states around the world.

A role is related to the social position of an actor in a group, which makes status as only one of the main terms in the definition of "role". The status of an actor is not enough to define a country's international role. The meaning of a state's social

interactions according to others is the second essential part to identify a country's international positioning (Elgström and Smith, 2006). The other's expectations of the self is as important as the latter's own perception of itself in defining a role.

When studying the role of a regional leader, besides the material capabilities a leader must have, it is important to understand that a state can only achieve this position with the combination of self-perception and the others' recognition. Regional powers, that can be or not regional leaders, are classified as mater roles (Nolte, 2010). The status below the regional power is represented by the secondary powers within a regional power hierarchy. Such powers are those with relatively less social and material conditions compared with the leader. Secondary powers have self-perception of their position and are recognized as so by others in a region (Flemes, 2010a). The remaining countries of a region with economic and political participation of little impact are classified in the master role of small powers.

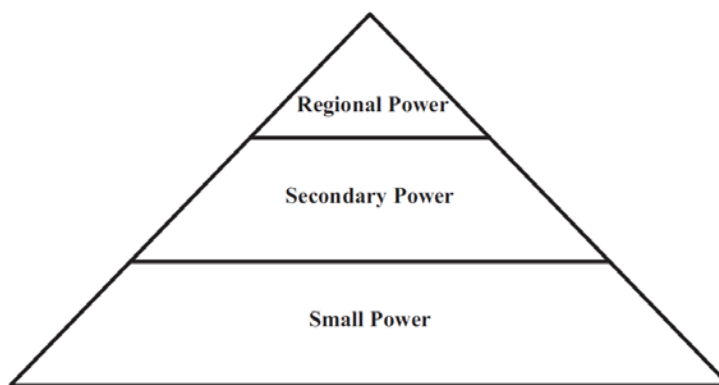


Figure 3: Master Roles in a Regional Hierarchy (Wehner, 2015, p. 437)

The position of regional power is on the top of the pyramid because this master role is usually played by one or few states in a region, as the figure above demonstrates. These actors are the ones with better resources and influence over their own region. The number of secondary powers and small powers are usually greater than the position above them, because they encompass all the other states in a region. Small powers are also in the bottom of the pyramid because they exert less influence in a regional scale, having less material and non-material capabilities *vis-à-vis* the regional and secondary powers.

Regions in the world are set of units and constituent parts of an entire system (Buzan and Weaver, 2003). Understanding the regional level is a step towards understanding the international system. Therefore, the distribution of power within regions is critical in defying the political dynamics and the formation of international roles.

Before considering the relationship between the ego and alter in shaping international roles, it is important to have in mind that master roles are first designed by the measurement of material and non-material capabilities. Henceforth, the perspectives of the self and the other define and consolidate the existence of such roles. The role of regional leader does not only encompass only the task of leading the region being the representative of the countries in a given subcontinent. Besides these attributions, a regional leader has to assume the costs of this role, such as promoting regional integration, coordinating economic relations, mediating conflicts, and providing public goods. Regional leader is the highest status in a region and to achieve this position, a

country has to present solid conditions to exercise the role and bear the costs in order to be recognized and legitimized by other states in the region. In this dynamic, secondary powers are the most relevant actors representing the alter in shaping the ego's role. They are capable to allow or deny the existence of a regional leader.

There is a gap in literature regarding Brazil's role in South America considering both perspectives: the ego and the alter. Understanding the other's perspective is as crucial as understanding the self's perspective in order to identify a role (Wehner, 2015). Most studies ignore the conception other countries in Latin America have about Brazil, and since a role is created by two or more parts' perceptions, studying only Brazil provides half of the information about the country's role.

In this thesis, starting with the central state being studied, I note that Brazil has a clear perception of its role and potentials in South America. Starting with the country's continental dimensions, Brazil presents a history of believing in its potential and natural destiny to be great. After gaining independence in 1822, Brazil left the status of colony to become an empire, which contributed to start shaping the country's international identity and expectations about itself. The arrival of the Portuguese royal family in 1808 contributed to consolidate the plans of picturing Brazil's rise until the day it will achieve the position of being one of the great powers in the world (Stolte, 2015).

During Fernando Henrique Cardoso's administration as president of Brazil in the 1990s, he has always emphasized his country's potential to play important international roles (Cardoso, 2006). Celso Lafer, one of the Brazilian Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Fernando Collor's administration in early 1990s and Cardoso's administration from 2001

to 2003, stated that due to the considerable geographical size of Brazil, the country is naturally involved in being part of shaping the international order (Lafer, 2001 in Santos, 2002).

In the ceremony where Celso Amorim assumed the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2003, same year Lula assumed Brazil's presidency, Amorim highlighted the country's features, such as economy, geography, and international political activism that put Brazil in a more prominent position in South America. The confidence Brazilian politicians have demonstrated regarding the potentials of the country is related to the discourse that Brazil should not be restricted to South America. Rather, the country should pursue global protagonism.

Our foreign policy cannot be confined to a single region, nor can it be restricted to a single dimension. Brazil can and must contribute to the construction of a peaceful and united global order based on the law and the principles of multilateralism, aware of its demographic, territorial, economic, and cultural weight, and of being a great democracy in the process of social transformation. Brazil will act, without inhibitions, in various international, regional, and global forums. (Translated by the author) (Amorim, 2003).³²

During Lula's administration, the idea of Brazil as an important international actor and regional leader was consolidated. His ideologies and strategies were followed by his successor, Dilma Rousseff. Antonio Patriota, Minister of Foreign Affairs during Rousseff's first two years as president, emphasized Brazil's international achievements during the previous government. The discourse of the country as naturally prominent with the ability to be one of the leaders in regional and global affairs remained.

³² "Nossa política externa não pode estar confinada a uma única região, nem pode ficar restrita a uma única dimensão. O Brasil pode e deve contribuir para a construção de uma ordem mundial pacífica e solidária, fundada no Direito e nos princípios do multilateralismo, consciente do seu peso demográfico, territorial, econômico e cultural, e de ser uma grande democracia em processo de transformação social. O Brasil atuará, sem inibições, nos vários foros internacionais, regionais e globais." (Amorim, 2003).

We will guide the external action of Brazil preserving the achievements of the last years and building on the solid foundation of the achievements of the government of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. [During Lula's government] we have acquired a natural authority to engage in all the major debates and decision-making processes on the international agenda - political, economic, commercial, environmental, social, cultural. [...] Brazil, with its tradition of peace and tolerance, positions itself as an actor that brings together privileged characteristics for the promotion of more inclusive models of development and for the strengthening of cooperation among nations through more representative and legitimate mechanisms of governance. (Translated by the author) (Patriota, 2011).³³

Not only have the political elite of the country, but also its citizens demonstrated a belief that the constraints that have hindered the rise of the state to fulfill its destiny will be overcome in the future (Stolte, 2015). Souza (2008) conducted a research with the Foreign Policy Community in Brazil and concluded that more than 90% of the participants agree that the country will have a more prominent regional and global status in the future. The research also showed that regional leadership and integration are of main interest for the country.

The Brazilian population is positive about the country's future and international prominence. The rates of approval of Brazil's foreign policy by its citizens are high, due to the belief in a promising future that is destined to the country. The achievements of the foreign policy shaped by Lula's administration enhanced Brazil's international presence and increased the number of allied countries around the world. The figure below

³³ "Orientaremos a ação externa do Brasil preservando as conquistas dos últimos anos e construindo sobre a base sólida das realizações do Governo do Presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. [Durante o governo Lula] adquirimos uma autoridade natural para nos engajarmos em todos os grandes debates e processos decisórios da agenda internacional – políticos, econômicos, comerciais, ambientais, sociais, culturais. [...] Brasil, com sua tradição de paz e tolerância, se posiciona como um ator que reúne características privilegiadas para a promoção de modelos mais inclusivos de desenvolvimento e para o fortalecimento da cooperação entre as nações por intermédio de mecanismos de governança mais representativos e legítimos." (Patriota, 2011).

demonstrates the perception the Brazilian population has about the country's international prominence.

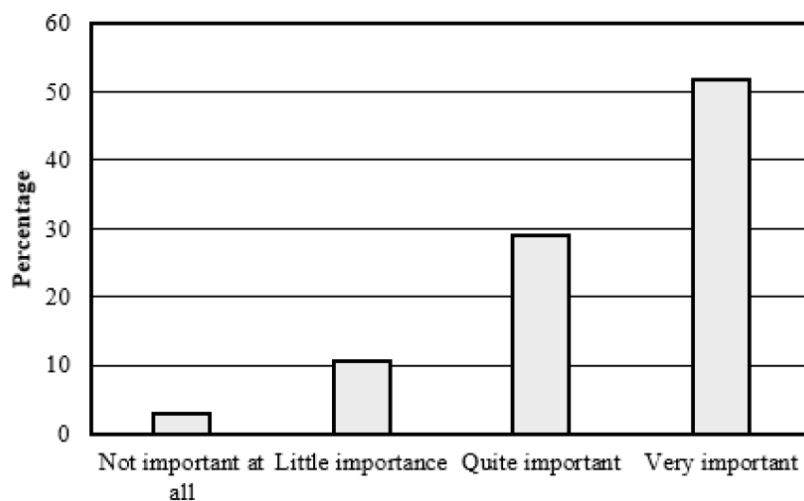


Figure 4: Perception of Brazil's international relevance among Brazil respondents (Onuki, Mouron, and Urdinez, 2016)

The majority of the respondents in Brazil has the perception that their country has a significant impact in the world, as the figure shows. This reinforces the idea that the image of Brazil as a relevant state in the international system is not exclusively of the economic elite or political groups in the country. This perception is shared with the Brazilian population that also perceives the country as relevant in the world and naturally big in all senses.

Brazil's audacious international goals were not translated into an aggressive foreign policy. Contrary to other states around the world that have relied on direct military force and belligerence in order to firm their position as great powers, Brazil has chosen to spread its external influence through dialogue and cooperation. Therefore, the

country perceives itself as a peaceful giant exerting soft power in the international system (Lafer, 2001).

An emerging economy, already a middle power in the world engaged in a regional leadership pursuit due to the potentialities of a country with natural destiny to be great is the self-conception Brazil has of itself. Reinforcing Rousseff's words about Brazil in her speech during the United Nations General Assembly in 2011, the former president affirmed that Brazil is a peaceful country and a force to stability and prosperity that could grow regionally and globally (Rousseff, 2011).

Brazil has favored diplomatic dialogue and multilateralism as its best strategy to gain allies (Nolte, 2010). This policy gained force during Lula's administration, when Amorim, in his speeches, revealed Brazil's clear intentions of expanding its influence over South America and across the globe.

We will forge alliances with large developing countries. We will strengthen the dialogue with China, Russia, India, Mexico, and South Africa, among others. We will develop, through partnerships with other countries and organizations, greater cooperation with African countries. Angola and Mozambique, which have experienced prolonged internal conflicts, will receive special attention. We will value cooperation within the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP), including its newest member, East Timor. (Translated by the author) (Amorim, 2003).³⁴

Even with a big national territory, counting on the greatest economy and military force in the region, Brazil has not demonstrated intentions to translate its material preponderance into a hegemonic strategy. The exercise of soft power has been a tradition

³⁴ "Forjaremos alianças com grandes países em desenvolvimento. Reforçaremos o diálogo com a China, a Rússia, a Índia, o México e a África do Sul, entre outros. Desenvolveremos, inclusive por meio de parcerias com outros países e organizações, maior cooperação com os países africanos. Angola e Moçambique, que passaram por prolongados conflitos internos, receberão atenção especial. Valorizaremos a cooperação no âmbito da Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (a CPLP), inclusive com o seu mais novo membro, o Timor Leste." (Amorim, 2003).

in the country's foreign policy (Burgess, 2017) and it confirms Brazil's preference to be more loved than feared (Cardoso, 2006). In this sense, Brazil adopts the "consensual hegemony" strategy of attracting followers towards a common goal, instead of imposing its interest over others by coercion or use of force (Burgess, 2008). Hence, the country focus on creating ties with countries not only in South America, but all around the world, with a special attention to the Global South. As the quote below demonstrates, the intention is to exercise influence in the international sphere and at the same time cooperate with others towards a common goal.

The priority attributed to the neighborhood [South America] will not be more prominent than the close relationship with other parts of the South or the developed world. We are interested in intensifying relations with a number of partners in the fields of trade, investment, political dialogue, and many others. In a world in which the North-South dichotomies have not yet been completely dissipated, Brazil's diplomatic action can contribute to the promotion of more balanced relationships around shared interests. (Translated by the author) (Patriota, 2011).³⁵

Coming from a long history of rivalry, Brazil and Argentina started a short-lived relationship of cooperation in the 1980s. Since then, the perception of Argentina about its neighbor has changed. With almost four decades of partnership, a positive image of Brazil was gradually developed in Argentina, where the business elite, political leaders, and the general population seem to perceive its neighbor as a regional power, recognizing its importance in Argentina's politics (CARI, 2010).

³⁵ "A prioridade atribuída à vizinhança não se dará em detrimento de relações estreitas com outros quadrantes do Sul ou do mundo desenvolvido. Interessa-nos intensificar relações com uma pluralidade de parceiros nas esferas do comércio, dos investimentos, do diálogo político, entre muitas outras. Em um mundo no qual não se dissiparam ainda totalmente as dicotomias Norte-Sul, a ação diplomática do Brasil pode contribuir para a promoção de relações mais equilibradas em torno a interesses compartilhados." (Patriota, 2011).

Brazil is one of Argentina's main partners in the world, but the former's rise is considered as a threat for Argentina. Besides having plans of becoming a more prominent regional and global actor as well, Argentina also fears a disparity of power between itself and Brazil's. Since Cristina Kirchner's first administration, started in 2007, the perception the country holds of Brazil became more complex. The latter started to be seen as an indispensable partner and competitor neighbor (La Nación, 2010). The partnership between both countries remained solid; however, the Brazil's rise in the international system became a matter of concern to Argentina. The advances made by Brazil through its foreign policy since Lula's first administration and the rates of growth presented by the country contributed to enhance Argentina's insecurities regarding its neighbor.

The perception of Brazil as a regional power is shared by most of the South American countries, including Argentina. But this conception does not include the role of regional leader, which is contested by the actors in the region. Therefore, these states engaged in counterbalancing Brazil as a soft balance strategy (Paul, 2004).

According to the Balance of Power Theory, in an anarchical international system the states try to guarantee their own security and external influence. A secondary goal is to avoid the rise of a hegemon that could acquire enough power to dominate others. Therefore, a balance of power is attained by an arrangement among a number of states in the international system that will be in a position of not allowing a scenario where only one country dominates the international arena. Hence, there will be an equilibrium of

power in the international system and the respect of the states' independence and sovereignty (Levy, 2004).

On a regional level, the balance of power consists on a state's strategy, or even a type of foreign policy, that prevents the rise of a single country in a region. The goal is the equilibrium of influence in a certain area amongst the main states located in there. This strategy can be used by one state or an alliance between them (Reis and Silva, 2013). In South America, the soft balance against Brazil is not formed by a coalition of states that directly confronts the rise of the neighbor. The balance occurs through diplomacy and proactivity in international forums as a response to Brazil's strategies to become a regional leader (Tziampiris, 2015). The counterbalance strategy is also called by Russell and Tokatlian (2016) as "soft hedging", which is a non-confrontation strategy deployed by second powers in a region against the hegemon.

Argentina's main partner in counterbalancing Brazil is Venezuela. The latter presents a history of regional leadership goals, such as Argentina and Brazil, which makes it interesting for both to hinder the Brazilian hegemony in the region. However, the Brazilian and Venezuelan goals of regional leadership have always been clearer than Argentina's. There is still a debate in academia about the Argentina's real intentions of becoming or not the South America's leader.

The former president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, was one of the politicians who started the turn to left in South America, winning the elections for the country's presidency in 1999. In Venezuela, Chávez became a popular hero for his history of being arrested for fighting against dictatorship in Venezuela during the military regime and for

basing his discourses about a government for the people, inspired by the memory of Simón Bolívar (Panizza, 2006).

Brazil and Venezuela do not directly compete for regional leadership in South America. Rather, these countries share similar goals such as regional integration and economic and social development. Regional leadership is one of the similar goals both countries share. In order to achieve this position, the Venezuelan government opted for a posture against liberalism, globalization, entrepreneurship, open market, and anti-U.S. sentiments. Chávez adopted a mercantilist, statist approach in his country, concentrating all the decisions on the hands of the state (Panizza, 2005; Burges, 2007).

Venezuela's strategy to become South America's leader was based on boosting the country's oil wealth as a means to place Venezuela in an advantageous position in the region, facilitating its path toward leadership. Other than that, because Chávez became the president, he tried to engage Venezuela in the South American institutions. However, considering the country's unwillingness to promote liberalism, free trade, and strong ties with the U.S., the Venezuelan government ended up criticizing the region's organizations such as Mercosul. After joining the institutions in 2006, Chávez accused the bloc of being excessively neoliberal and institutionally weak. The country's focus was on Bolivarian Alliance for the People of our America (ALBA), in which the former president had the intention to promote regional integration in Latin America, specifically between Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, and Nicaragua. The organization represented an alternative to the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) (Burges, 2007).

Besides sharing the same goals in South America, Brazil and Venezuela followed different paths to achieve regional leadership. In contrast with Venezuela's statist position strongly based on Bolivarian ideals (Maya, 2008), Brazil adopted a neoliberal posture, exploring regional and global partnerships (Cervo, 2003). Nonetheless, the former's leadership goals contributed to the country to be Argentina's ally in balancing Brazil's international plans.

The response of Brazil's neighbors to its regional leadership attempts is not only a result of competitiveness. Some South American countries, such as Argentina and Venezuela, the ones directly balancing Brazil's rise, hold different conception of region than the lusophone neighbor.

The concept of "Latin America" has an ancient history. It started with the colonization of the region and the idea of creating a confederation, building a single nation, such as the example of Simón Bolívar. However, the region was named as "Latin America" during the French occupation, in the middle of the 19th century, when Napoleon III tried to justify France's invasion of Mexico. After this event, the wars of independence in the subcontinent spread the feeling of uniting the colonies against the conquerors. Later, the opposition against the influence of the U.S. in the region in the 20th century consolidated the name and the collective identity of Latin America (Quijada, 1998; Eakin, 2004).

However, the new global dynamics of the 21st century changed the regional distribution of power and traditional bounds in Latin America, which makes the task of

identifying the sense of regional belonging and identity amongst the Latin American countries more complex (Onuki, Mouron, and Urdinez, 2016).

Brazil has focused on South America to project itself and become a leader. However, other countries in the region, such as Argentina and Chile, have a wider conception of region that encompasses the entire Latin America. This difference in perception of region changes the rules of the game, because this broader notion of region brings Mexico into the regional dynamic that initially would embody only the South American subcontinent. Mexico has plans of expanding its influence over Latin America, hence avoiding the rise of another state in the region other than itself. Therefore, when the South American countries try to balance Brazil in the region, those holding a wider perception of region bring Mexico to their circle of influence in order to balance Brazil (Wehner, 2015).

Another point that makes it difficult to Brazil to solidify its position as a regional leader in Latin or South America comes not from its neighbors, but from its own sense of identity. Amongst all the Latin American countries, Brazil is the only one which the great majority of its citizens do not consider themselves as Latin Americans. The survey conducted by Onuki, Mouron, and Urdinez (2016) showed that 4% of the Brazilian interviewees consider themselves as Latin Americans. 13% prefer to be “world citizens” and 1% accept the “South American” label. The biggest representation of 79% of the participants identifies themselves as “Brazilians”.

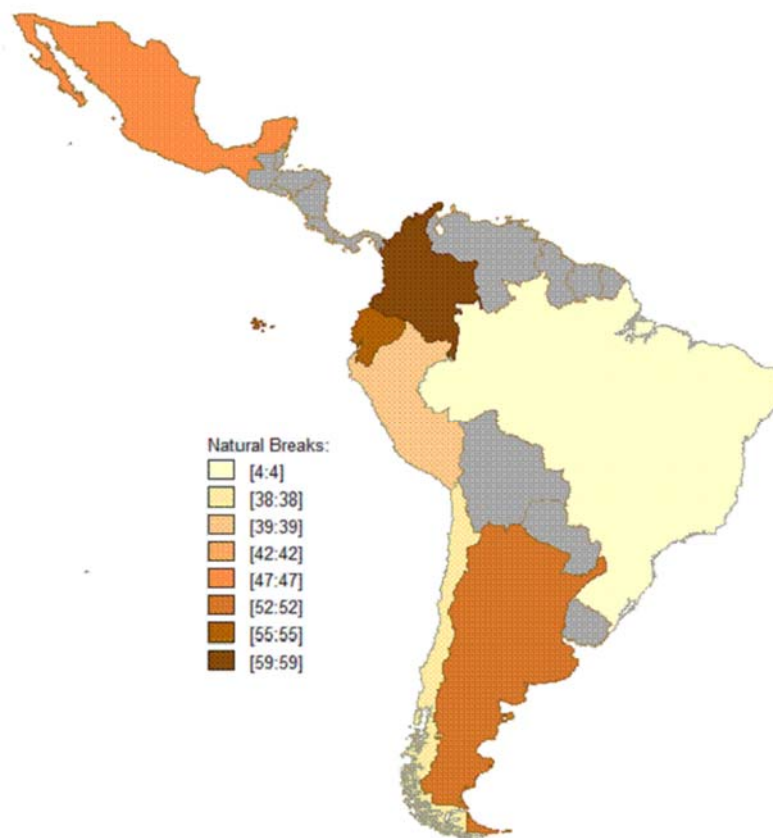


Figure 5: Self-identification as ‘Latin American’ by respondents in seven countries (%) (Onuki, Mouron, and Urdinez 2016)

As pointed out by the survey and the figure above, the perception the Brazilians have of themselves when it comes to regional identity makes their country to be the outlier in Latin America, where Brazil is the only one that has not a considerable sense of being part of the subcontinent. However, this perception does not make the country less important in the region to other Latin American states.

According to the survey of the AmericasBarometer (2014) conducted in Latin America and the Caribbean, Brazil is the third most relevant influencer in the region. The first two are outside the subcontinent, being the U.S. and China. After being ranked again

in a good position when people were asked about which country should be the model for future development, according to the Latin America and Caribbean countries, Brazil is the first mentioned of those in Latin America. Considering a global scale, Brazil lost to the United States, Japan, China, and to an alternative option that implies that each country should follow their own development path (LAPOP, 2014).

Classifying a regional leader is more complex than identifying a middle power. A regional leader has basically to be economically, politically and ideologically involved with a region presenting material and organizational resources for its self-projection, representing the countries of the region in a global scale, and providing public good for the ones involved (Nolte, 2010). However, a crucial point necessary for a state to become a regional leader that is considered by Nolte (2010) and addressed by Role Theory (Holsti, 1970; Ties, 2009; Wehner, 2011; 2015) is to be recognized and respected as one by other states inside and outside the region.

Regarding the costs inherent to regional or global powers in the world, Brazil is committed to increasing its military force in order to maintain the status of greatest military power in the region. With that, the country is engaged in regional security affairs, being able to mediate conflicts and engage itself in initiatives for security-cooperation. On top of that, with the Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA), Brazil has invested in providing regional energy security and infrastructure to the region. However, even with these efforts, the country has not consistently demonstrated to be willing to pay the costs of being a regional leader (Flemes and Wehner, 2012).

International roles, such as regional leadership, carry with them some costs that must be assumed by the country in that position. The more the country provides, the less it will face opposition from other states. Some of the costs a regional leadership position requires are: the distribution of public goods for the states in the region, which includes infrastructure, stability, and the payment of the high economic costs of cooperation; the inclusion of secondary powers in decision-making processes as a power sharing initiative taking place in multilateral meetings and regional institutions, for instance; the projection of values and norms in a legitimate way respecting the followers' ideational beliefs; be the mediator in discussions, articulating an inclusive political agenda towards regional consensus (Flemes and Wehner, 2012). These costs are related to the auxiliary roles inherent to every master roles played by a country.

Brazil claims regional leadership in South America, but it is willing to pay only part of the costs related to this position, which may differ according to the issue area. The country is ready to guarantee regional stability and security. Brazil is also investing in increasing its military force to maintain the status of biggest military power in South America. On the other hand, the country is not consistently involved in paying the costs of economic integration in the region (Flemes and Wojczewski, 2010).

The deployments of Brazil's role conception in South America are complex and encompass some details that brought to the regional dynamics in Latin America, can interfere in the process of achieving such status. Being interested in becoming a regional leader does not automatically make Brazil as one. The process of attracting South

American states to follow its leadership is not simple, especially due to the existing competitiveness in the region.

Argentina and other countries in South America have a cooperative relationship with Brazil, but at the same time, they are engaged in balancing the country's rise. The different conception of region hold by each state influences the local dynamic. Argentina, Chile, and in part Venezuela have a wider perspective of the area, picturing Latin America as the subcontinent rather than South America. When it comes to that perspective of region Mexico gets involved along with Argentina and Venezuela to balance Brazil. Mexico is actually the greater challenge to Brazil's leadership aspirations than the South American countries. While Brazil has focused on South America, it failed to exert a relevant influence over the Caribbean countries, which was achieved by Mexico in this region (Malamud and Gardini, 2012).

Cultural difference is another reason that leads the Latin American countries to counterbalance Brazil. The lack of an identity sense of Brazilians as Latin Americans, in addition to the distinct official language and cultural aspects between a lusophone country surrounded by Hispanic states create a barrier between Brazil and the rest of the subcontinent. Those trying to balance the country do not disregard this fact. Mexico considers Brazil as distant rival in geographical, cultural, and linguistic terms. The North American country perceives itself as the region's representative for presenting more similar characteristics with Latin America than Brazil (Onuki, Mouron, and Urdinez, 2016). This is a point that hampers Brazil's plans of becoming the leader of the South American region. One of the features a regional leader has to present is the sharing of

symbolic apparatuses with its neighbors. Therefore, the cultural differences between Brazil and the rest of the subcontinent becomes a challenge for the country's attempts to assume the regional leadership position.

Even with the cultural differences between Brazil and the other Latin and South American countries, the former is still perceived as a strong country in the region that can assume important political posts in international forums. The survey conducted by Onuki, Mouron, and Urdinez (2016) showed that Brazil was the one of the first options chosen by seven countries in the region as the most appropriate state to get a permanent seat in the UNSC representing the region. The figure below shows that among the seven countries in the survey, Brazil was considered by all of them as adequate option for getting a permanent seat in the UNSC. Four of these countries, excluding Brazil's own opinion, considering only Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru presented more than 50% of the votes in accordance with the idea that in Latin America, Brazil is the most suitable country to occupy such position. Only Argentina and Mexico showed more support to their own countries rather than Brazil, which is due to the competitiveness for international influence among these these states and Brazil.

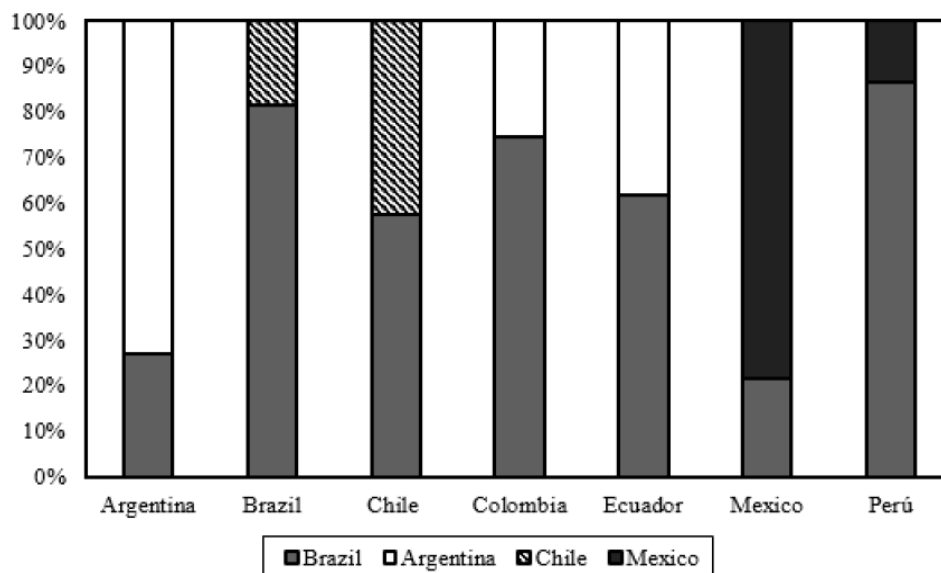


Figure 6: Most suitable representative in the UN Security Council (Onuki, Mouron, and Urdinez, 2016)

This is due to the recognition Brazil has in the regional as a regional power with considerable material capabilities and relevant institutional activism. However, the figure cannot be translated into regional acceptance of a leader. Brazil's reluctance in assuming the costs of regional leadership, the distinct conceptions of region held by the states in the subcontinent, and cultural differences result in resistance. These factors combined explain that, besides being recognized as a prominent country in the international system, Brazil does not represent a leader the Latin American countries expect for the region. On top of that, the contestation in the region is also a result of regional dispute for leadership.

Therefore, the lack of support Brazil had in its attempt to get a permanent seat in the UNSC and a representative in the World Trade Organization are examples of the so called "contested leadership". Since a role to exist and to be legitimized depends on the

self-conception of the ego and the recognition of the others, the lack of support from Latin American countries hampers Brazil to achieve the position of regional leader.

Summarizing Brazil's role in South America, Brazil and Argentina consider the former as a middle power in the world and a regional power in South America. The divergence between their opinions about Brazil's role in the region is regarding regional leadership. Brazil considers itself as South America's representative, while Argentina denies this role and counterbalances its neighbor along with Venezuela and Mexico.

In 2015 Brazil went into an economic and political crisis that started to show its signs in the protest of 2013. These events had as their first cause the increase in the bus fares in the state of São Paulo. However, this reason was only the trigger to mobilize the population to protest against political corruption, lack of governmental investments in public services, and overspending of public money on building an entire structure to receive the soccer World Cup of 2014 and the Olympics of 2016. More than 80% of the Brazilians supported the protests, which called the attention of the international media and of the Brazilian political administration to create measures to meet the public demands (Freitas, 2013).

The following year was marked by the scandal of corruption involving the national energy corporation called Petrobras. Executives were accused of paying kickbacks to politicians and of receiving bribes from construction companies. The population took the streets of the country's main capitals once more to protest against the federal government and to request the impeachment the president Dilma Rousseff (Zorthian, 2015).

In May 12th of 2016 the Brazilian senate admitted the process of impeachment of Rousseff that was finalized in August of the same year. The former president was accused of committing crimes of responsibility involving the governmental financial management. Rousseff officially left the office in the same month and was replaced by Michel Temer from the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB - Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro). The process counted on 61 votes in favor, 20 against her impeachment, and no abstentions. Temer will be in the Brazilian presidential office until the country's next elections that will occur at the end of 2018 (Amorim, Prazeres, and Marchesan, 2016).

The process of impeachment of Dilma Rousseff gained international repercussion. The secretary-general of Unasul, Ernesto Samper from Colombia, assumed to be afraid of the consequences of the impeachment for the democratic regime in Brazil. Ban Ki-Moon, the secretary-general of the United Nations stated that the entire process has to be analyzed with caution. He finished affirming his trust in the authorities of Brazil as conducting the process according to the democratic rules and the national constitution. The Ministry of Foreign Relations of Argentina presented a similar speech of trust in the Brazilian authorities and reiterated the Argentinian decision of maintaining the relationship of cooperation with Brazil. Venezuela, on the other hand, classified the process as a *coup d'état*. The country's minister of Foreign Relations, Delcy Rodríguez declared that Venezuela supports Dilma's permanence in the office. Josh Earnest, who was the White House press secretary from 2014 to 2017 under Barack Obama's presidency, expressed his trust in the Brazilian democratic institutions and affirmed that

Brazil's institutional structures are mature and strong enough to resist to the political crisis (G1, 2016).

Although the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff has been approved and Temer has assumed the office, the deployments of this event are still an ongoing process. The consequences for Brazil's international status are still uncertain. The economic and political crises the country is going through in the moment, coupled with the impeachment of the former president, and the speculations about the Brazilian democratic structures can change the role conception of the country from the alter's conception, or both - the ego and the alter. However, it is early to make inferences about this topic. Nonetheless, it is still important to pay attention to the dynamics in South America and the responses the countries in the subcontinent will have for Brazil's performance in the region.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

As discussed throughout this study, an international role is socially constructed and encompasses the position of a state in the international system, which is created by its perception of itself and the responses of others in an interactional environment (Elgström and Smith, 2006). The process of identification of a role is not conducted by simply analyzing material structures. In order to understand an international role, it is necessary to focus on the social structures and the relationship between the ego's self-identification combined with the alter's perception (Kirste and Maull, 1996 in Wehner, 2015).

Brazil perceives itself as a middle power in a global scale, which is based on material power and other set of capabilities such as international status and influence (Stephen, 2013; Cooper, 2013). In South America, Brazil considers itself as a regional power with potential to become the leader. On the other hand, Argentina recognizes its neighbor's prominence in the world as a middle power and regional power. However, Argentina does not consider Brazil as a regional leader, neither agrees that the latter will achieve this position in the future.

Argentina also has plans of rising regionally. There are divergences amongst scholars regarding the country's intentions to become a regional leader, however, its explicit in the discourse of Argentina's previous presidents the goal of rising regionally and consolidate the state's presence in South America. However, the former do not legitimize the neighbor as a regional leader. This context explains Argentina's response to Brazil's rise by counterbalancing the partner.

Globally Brazil is seen as an emergent global player by the world's great power such as the G8³⁶ and European Union, but there is a disconnection between Brazil's own conception of regional role and the Latin American countries' perception of the former's role in the region. The lack of support and challenge states such as Argentina, Mexico, and Venezuela present to Brazil's goal to become regional leader makes the latter's attempt to achieve this position to be effective in theory, but not in practice. Therefore, Brazil becomes what Malamud (2011b) calls as a "leader without followers".

This study of Brazil's role conception in South America is not a new topic in the Political Science and International Relations fields. However, it is innovative in three main aspects: the focus on the alter, the quality of the descriptions and analysis of the formation of the role, and the relevance of the content to be applied to other studies, being those about role conception or foreign policy related topics.

There is a considerable amount of studies about the Brazilian and Argentinian foreign policy, which were important to be analyzed in this work in order to understand Brazil's role in South America. However, these works are generally focused on comparing both countries' foreign policy or on analyzing advances or regression in governmental decisions. As a contrast, this thesis presents a more concise and interconnected analysis of theory and reality, as it will be explained in the following paragraphs.

³⁶ The Group of Eight Industrialized Nation (G8) is formed by the eight great powers in the world, which are Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, Unites Kingdom, and United States. Their representatives meet annually to discuss about global issues such as international security, terrorism, economic growth, energy, and crisis management (Laub, 2014).

Role Theory is a relatively new theory on the field of International Relations, which has not an extensive list of works that were conducted under the analytical perspective of its premises. The majority of the studies based on Role Theory aims to discuss the theory regarding its scope and limitations, or to apply the content to a case study. In the latter case it is possible to notice that the importance given to address the alter's conception is little and limited. In most of the cases, the focus is on defining the ego's perception of its role, disregarding the need of considering the alter, which is as important as the ego in this process. As I previously mentioned, both are the two sides of one same coin.

There are few studies about role conception encompassing these two actors in a real case. They usually focus more on discussing the theory having its application in a real case as a sample that can prove their point. The actual formational process of the role itself is undeveloped, or it has a secondary relevance in the work. These studies provide a description of the perspectives of the ego and alter without giving substantial explanation of how such perspectives were formed.

What I developed in this thesis was the application of Role Theory to a real case, focusing on describing Brazil's role conception in South America by the perspective of this country and Argentina. For each actor, the historical explanations and the analysis of their foreign policy were in a logic sequence that allows the reader to understand how the role was shaped. The manner through which the alter's perspective was addressed in this thesis is innovative, given that most studies about role conception neglect the importance of understanding the others' opinion about the self.

Contrary to the works that address both perspectives, this study explains what are the roles played by the countries in South America, focusing on Brazil, and how they were formed, instead of affirming the position the ego and alter occupy with a lack of reasons that justify their existence.

In a general aspect, Role Theory is still being developed by the IR scholars who add concepts and definitions to enhance the theory's the scope and explanatory tools. In a small scale, a social environment is constituted by people playing a set of different roles, such as parents, professional, students, among others. Such roles are crucial for the understanding of people's behavior, choices, and relationship to others. The same logic can be applied to the international system where states play international roles such as great, middle, or small powers and regional leader. The posture taken by them and the duties assumed by these countries in the world depend on the role conception they have and the responses given by the others. Understanding Brazil's actions in an international sphere is easier once you know what the country's role is according to itself and others South American powers.

Few studies about role concept were developed about Latin America or South America. Therefore, the specialists in the region can resort to this thesis to understand the local dynamics, Brazil's regional role, and the effects of its status in the subcontinent. However, the study conducted in this thesis is useful not only to the identification of roles, but also to those interested in foreign policy analysis, regional security complex, and dyad analysis in IR, for instance.

In this contemporary era, globalization contributes to the rapid changes on the world's dynamics. New powers are rising, old powers are being contested, the unipolar system is being revised, and the tendency of a multipolar order is gaining force. In this context, the relevance of regions in a global level grows, making scholars and politicians to pay attention to the emergence of middle powers and regional leaders in the world, because their international impact is increasingly becoming more significant. This thesis provides an analysis of South America and its regional leadership dynamics, but at the same time, it serves as basis for other studies about other regions and roles.

This study suggests that Brazil's claim for regional leadership and even the country's self-conception as one does not make this role a reality. The main point causing this mismatch is the lack of followers and other countries in the region supporting and considering this position as legitimate. This study serving as basis for other analysis about the role conception of regional leadership in other regions also takes with it the same quests. The case of Brazil in South America highlights the points: will there be a leader in Latin or South America? Is there a regional leader in any other region in the world?

It is possible to conclude that regional leadership is a master role that faces contestation from multiple directions. The lack of precision in definition of the term also makes it more difficult to classify a country as a regional leader. Therefore, we notice that there are some countries around the world that are claiming the status of regional leader, but all of them face challenges and contestation, which has prevented them to assume such position.

Returning the focus to a regional perspective, the next steps of this study for the case of Brazil's role in South America is to analyze the implications the recent economic and political changes in the country can bring to its international status and role conception. Temer's government presents different features from Rousseff's administration. Some of the justifications of these differences are in current need of focusing on the stabilization of the country's economic situation. To what extent the foreign policy will remain the same or be adapted to a new reality is something to be analyzed. Within this context, the contours the Brazilian international role will acquire are uncertain. However, the regional leadership argument remains as a possibility to cover the country's current internal instability with the title of the "greatest in South America" and the "future leader."

In a global level, this thesis brings the necessity of paying attention to regions and the new rising powers that claim a more prominent international status. The regional dynamics, the interconnection between regions, and the consequences of changes in the distribution of power in the world makes the study of roles as an indispensable topic to be understood and analyzed.

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